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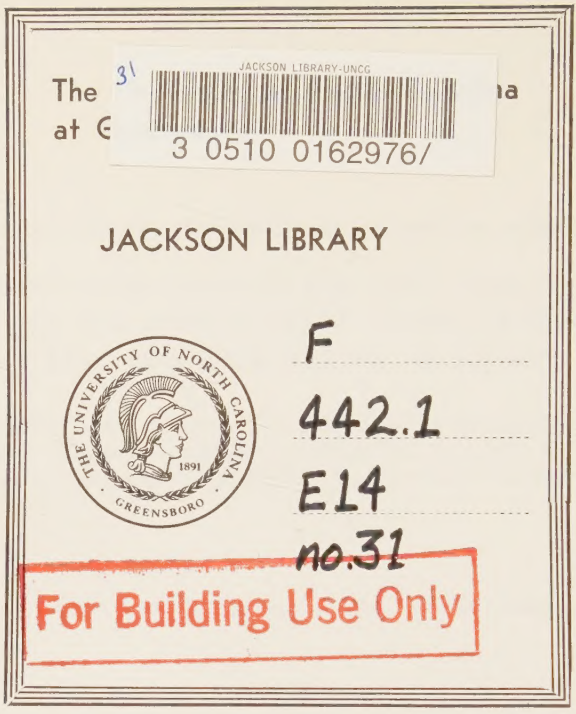

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CONTENTS

Andrew Johnson's Reputation
Willard Hays 1

Fire Protection In Old Knoxville
John B. Clark, Jr. 32

William Gibbs McAdoo and the 1920 Democratic Presidential Nomination
Wesley M. Bagby 43

Verton Madison Queener: An Appreciation
Ralph W. Lloyd 59

Papers From The Spanish Archives Relating to Tennessee and the Old Southwest
D. C. Corbitt and Roberta Corbitt 63

A Good Templar's "Journal"
Grace Leab and Charles Z. Roettger 83

"Vineland" In Tennessee, 1852: The Journal of Rosine Parmentier
Ben H. McClary and LeRoy P. Graf 95

Early East Tennessee Taxpayers
Pollyanna Creekmore 112

Writings on Tennessee History, 1958
Pollyanna Creekmore 122

Book Notices 128

Notes and News, 1958 133

Directory of Contributors 137

List of Members 138

Subscribers 144

Index 146

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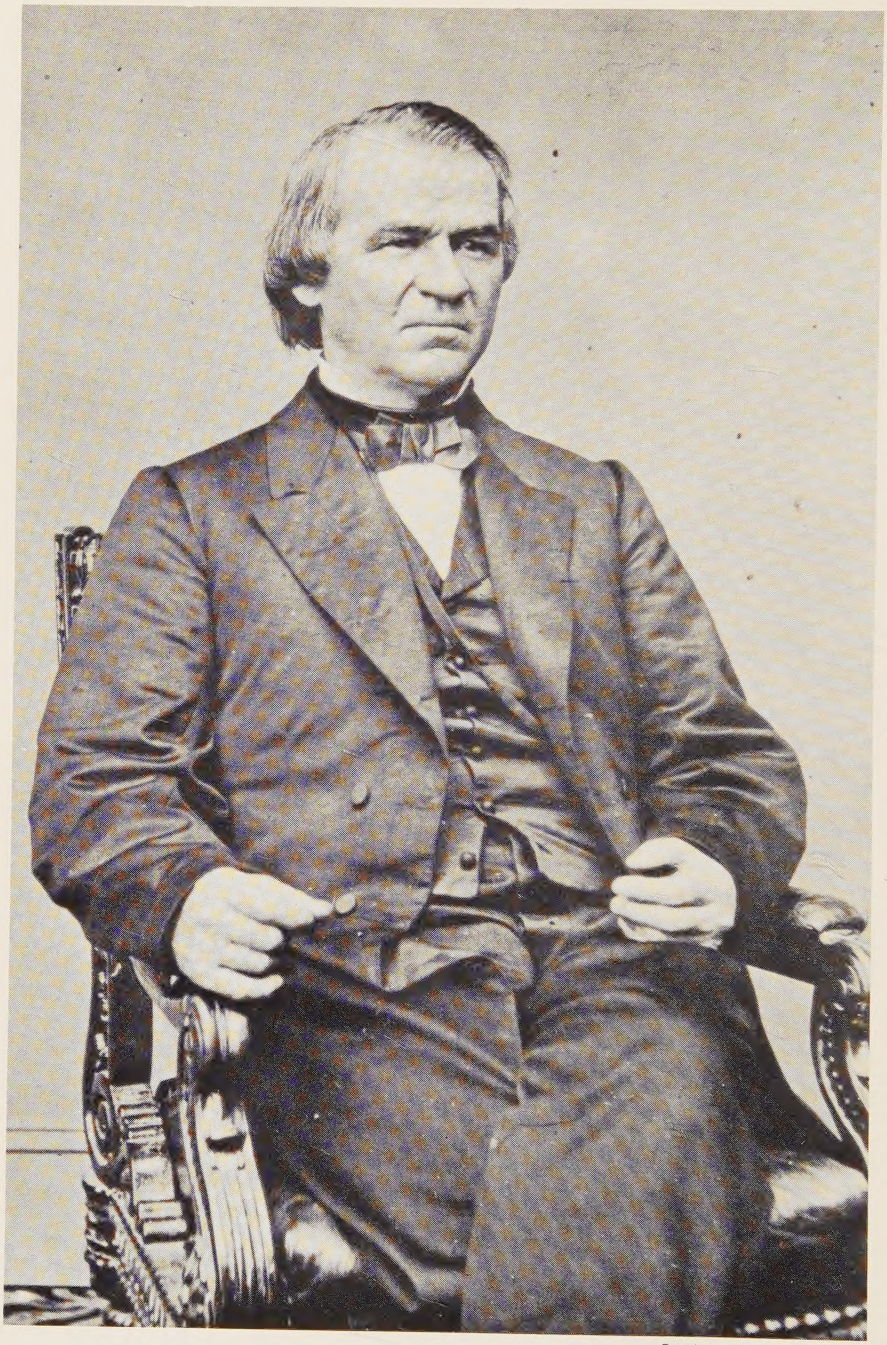

Courtesy National Archives

President Andrew Johnson

ANDREW JOHNSON'S REPUTATION

By WILLARD HAYS

INTRODUCTION

Robert G. Ingersoll, lawyer, skeptic, and campaign orator for the Republican party, once took time from his other activities to reflect on the fate of American politicians. In a letter to his brother, after describing how Webster had died begging to be President, how Calhoun had become infamous, and how Benton had lived to be ridiculed, the great agnostic wrote: "Look at poor Buchanan. Contemplate Franklin Pierce. View with a critic's eye Millard Fillmore. Remember Mr. Tyler. Pity Harrison. Drop a tear for *honest* Zachary Taylor. . . . Then dear Bro. get a good microscope and look at Andy Johnson."[1] A look at Andrew Johnson, or more correctly speaking, at his reputation, should be much more profitable than Colonel Ingersoll could have anticipated. The purpose of this study is to take such a look.

It is difficult to think of another figure in American public life whose treatment in history has greater intrinsic interest than that of the only President to be impeached. Johnson, like every public figure who is abused by his contemporaries, every artist whose works do not sell, and every writer whose efforts are ignored or adversely criticized, undoubtedly found consolation in the hope that he would be vindicated by posterity. To a large degree, such a hope has been justified. Indeed, if "Royal Bob" Ingersoll could see how some later observers have viewed Andrew Johnson, the shock would be enough to convert him to Christianity—or witchcraft. Few of their contemporaries would have questioned Ingersoll's consigning Johnson to disgrace and oblivion; yet the reputation of the maligned tailor from Tennessee has improved to such an extent that recently a distinguished student of the American presidency, after listing seven "great" Presidents, included Johnson among the six "near great."[2] It is no longer necessary to "get a good microscope" to see Andy Johnson.

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[1] Quoted by C. H. Cramer, *Royal Bob, The Life of Robert G. Ingersoll* (Indianapolis, c. 1952), 68-69.

[2] Clinton Rossiter, *The American Presidency* (New York, c. 1956), 79.

A study of Johnson's reputation is not only interesting in itself, but it also throws light on some of the factors that determine how history looks at an individual. Douglas Southall Freeman, biographer of Lee and Washington, has pointed out "the cynical truth that a man's place in history depends, in large part, on care and good fortune—care in preserving essential records, and good fortune in having a biographer who uses those records sympathetically."[3] In both of these respects Johnson was extremely fortunate. The records that he himself carefully preserved and the observations that Gideon Welles, his secretary of the navy, faithfully recorded in his *Diary* made it possible for later students to draw a picture of Johnson that was not based on the charges of his political enemies. After these records became available they were used sympathetically by not one but several historians and biographers.

Important though adequate records and sympathetic biographical treatment are, the prevailing attitudes of the time at which the study is made are just as important in determining the treatment accorded an individual. There is a striking difference in the way Andrew Johnson was viewed by a generation imbued with the concept of racial equality propounded by the abolitionists and by another that placed greater value on national unity than on equal rights for all races. The importance of the attitude of the writer, which is at least in part a result of the intellectual forces operating in his own age, is obvious when it is seen how the same fact can be used to create opposite effects. For example, the fact that the President's son, Colonel Robert Johnson, drank to excess can be used to imply a characteristic family weakness or to arouse sympathy for the father who loves his son despite the embarrassment that his actions cause. History may not be, as Charles A. Beard is said to have remarked, "just a cat dragged by its tail to places it rarely wants to go,"[4] but the study of Andrew Johnson's reputation points up Beard's contention that any written history inevitably reflects the author's "frame of reference," his thought as conditioned by his own age and cultural setting.[5]

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[3] Douglas Southall Freeman, *The South to Posterity, An Introduction to the Writing of Confederate History* (New York, 1939), 73.

[4] Whitaker T. Deininger, "The Skepticism and Historical Faith of Charles A. Beard," *Journal of the History of Ideas* (New York), XV (October, 1954), 574.

[5] Charles A. Beard, "Written History as an Act of Faith," *The American Historical Review* (New York), XXXIX (January, 1934), 221.

It should be made clear, before proceeding further, that this study is not an effort to show what Andrew Johnson was or to pass judgment on him. Rather, it is simply an attempt to ascertain what articulate observers of the national scene and students of our history have thought of him as a man, a political leader, and a statesman during the ninety years which have elapsed since his leaving the White House in 1869, and, whenever possible, to suggest reasons for the prevalence and change of their attitudes.

During President Johnson's four years in office, feeling toward him changed from apathy to adulation to denunciation. The first few months were characterized by a lack of interest. Occasionally, on the ground that he was proceeding with too great haste in bringing the southern states back into the Union, the President's policy was questioned, but neither his honesty nor his patriotism was doubted. His first message to Congress, delivered in December, 1865, was moderate and well-written. Because of it, he was widely acclaimed, at home and abroad, as a great and wise statesman.

Within a matter of weeks, however, Johnson was being denounced as perhaps no other President ever has been. Early in 1866 he aroused the wrath of the congressional Radicals by vetoing both the Freedmen's Bureau Bill, a measure to provide federal protection for the former slaves, and the Civil Rights Bill, which forbade discriminatory state legislation against the Negro. An unfortunate propensity for tactless offhand remarks added to his difficulties. By the end of the year the President was generally looked on as a stubborn, egotistical, ignorant, even treacherous demagogue, who, in opposition to the will of the majority of the northern people, had followed a policy which had permitted southern secessionists to regain power at the expense of the Negro. This view persisted to the end of his administration, remaining largely unchanged even during the impeachment proceedings during the spring of 1868. Those who favored impeachment were already before the end of 1866 castigating him in such language as to leave little room for more extreme condemnation, while even those who felt that impeachment was unjustified believed that he had been a failure as President and a discredit to his high office.

In this study, Andrew Johnson's reputation will be examined in four chronological periods. During the first, 1869-99, he was judged for the

most part by men whose views were conditioned by their memories of the acrimonious years of his administration. The second, 1900-1926, is characterized by the activities of the professional historian, who based his work on research rather than recollection. The next section will treat the six years, 1927-1932, in which an awakening of interest in Johnson led to a great deal of original research and a notably more favorable judgment. In the fourth and last period, 1933 to the present, this interest has receded, and writings in which Johnson is evaluated, while often scholarly, have usually been based on secondary accounts.[6]

I. Criticism and the Beginnings of Understanding: March, 1869-1899

From the time Andrew Johnson left the White House until the beginning of the twentieth century, opinions about him are to be found chiefly in the memoirs, reminiscences, letters, diaries, and autobiographies of the prominent men of his own age. Many books of this period were called "histories," but, written by such men as Alexander H. Stephens, Henry Wilson, or Horace Greeley, they tend to be more akin to the type of writing frankly labelled as memoirs and reminiscences than to the well-researched, more or less objectively written histories of today. In the works of men who had been so deeply involved in the affairs of Johnson's age it is inevitable that we find bias and emotionalism.

The writers who judged Johnson during this period were not only his contemporaries but most of them were from the North. It is not surprising, therefore, that the picture of Johnson that had prevailed during his last years in office tended to persist. It was not, however, unchallenged. Johnson's political friends, as well as his enemies, were writing; the South was becoming somewhat more articulate; and, as the animosities of the Civil War and Reconstruction gradually diminished, Andrew Johnson came to be judged, even in the North, less harshly.

For over thirty years after Johnson left Washington, very few writers devoted their efforts exclusively to him and his administration. Prior to 1900 opinions about him were generally expressed incidentally in works not primarily concerned with the seventeenth President and his problems.

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[6] Parts III and IV, covering the years 1927 to the present, and Conclusions will appear in *Publications* No. 32.

Writings about Johnson during the decade after his retirement were infrequent and for the most part merely restatements of the Radical interpretation. Shortly after Grant took office one writer took occasion to compare the former President, unfavorably, with the new. Maintaining that Johnson was head-strong, ignorant, and incapable of understanding the problems he faced, this anonymous contributor to *The Atlantic Monthly* referred to the Tennessean's administration as "unwise and wicked."[7] At about the same time, *The Overland Monthly*, published in San Francisco, carried an article in which the Reverend Charles Ames, a Unitarian minister, took a rather dim view of both Johnson and the martyred Lincoln. Ames criticized Johnson for having been more interested in fighting Congress than in looking after the affairs of the nation.[8]

When the former President died in 1875, *The Nation,* E. L. Godkin's noted weekly, judged him much as it had while he held office. Now, as then, it held that most of the difficulties of the Reconstruction era had arisen because Johnson, "obtuse" and "ignorant," had tried to bring the southern states back into the Union too quickly and without adequate safeguards for the rights of the freedmen. While continuing to denounce the former President's intemperate language and stubbornness, *The Nation,* after six years of Grant, reiterated its earlier approval of the honesty with which the affairs of government had been conducted under Johnson.[9]

The most violent attacks on Johnson published during the seventies came from the pen of Henry Wilson, Vice President during Grant's second term. In the February, 1870, issue of *The Atlantic Monthly,* Wilson, then a senator from Massachusetts, charged that Johnson had denied the freedmen their just rights as well as threatened the peace of the nation by a reactionary policy.[10] Later, in his *History of the Rise and Fall of the Slave Power in America,* Wilson, by the manner in which he referred to the incident at the Tennessean's inauguration as Vice President, implied that Johnson was a habitual drunkard. Wilson averred that the presidential plan of reconstruction was "utterly inde-

[7] "The Intellectual Character of President Grant," *The Atlantic Monthly* (Boston), XXIII (May, 1869), 628-30.

[8] Charles G. Ames, "A Political Outlook," *The Overland Monthly* (San Francisco), II (June, 1869), 546.

[9] "The Week," *The Nation* (New York), XXI (August 5, 1875), 77.

[10] Henry Wilson, "Edwin M. Stanton," *The Atlantic Monthly,* XXV (February, 1870), 234-46.

fensible," and that Johnson himself was dishonest, treacherous, and a "standing hindrance" to the humanitarian aims of the Republican party. In this book, Grant's Vice President repeated the charge that Johnson's policy had remanded freedmen "to a condition little better than that from which the war had rescued them." "The story," he wrote, "is a long and sad one, and there is hardly a more disgraceful passage in American history. . . ."[11]

A similar judgment was passed in an article appearing in the August, 1879, issue of *The Atlantic Monthly*. The author, Walter Allen, asserted that Johnson had betrayed the northern people by trying to bring an unrepentant and unreconstructed South back into the Union. He also accused Johnson of having "used the executive patronage scandalously" to further his political aims.[12]

Two of the most important works of the eighties, both of which have been widely used as sources by subsequent writers, were James G. Blaine's *Twenty Years of Congress, from Lincoln to Garfield* and Hugh McCulloch's *Men and Measures of Half a Century*. They contain contrasting pictures of Johnson, the former reflecting the Radical viewpoint and the latter a more sympathetic approach.

Blaine, congressman and later Republican candidate for President, censured Johnson for his unwillingness to give full civil rights to the Negroes and for allowing the South to fall back into the hands of former rebels. The Maine legislator attributed Johnson's attitude to the influence of southern flatterers. The seventeenth President, according to Blaine, "had two signal defects, either of which would impair his fitness for executive duty; united they rendered him incapable of efficient administration:—he was conceited and he was obstinate." Two other faults that Blaine ascribed to him were a "talent for procrastination" and "a certain indecision." Johnson, in the view of the New England Republican, was a political blunderer who, on his "swing-around the circle"—the speaking tour undertaken in support of pro-administration candidates in 1866—discredited himself and threw away whatever chance he had for carrying out his program by engaging in "undignified repartee" with hecklers. Blaine, one of the writers who

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[11] Henry Wilson, *History of the Rise and Fall of the Slave Power in America,* 8th edn. 3 vols. (Boston, 1872-c. 1877), III, 578, 597, 599, 733.

[12] Walter Allen, "Two Years of President Hayes," *The Atlantic Monthly,* XLIV (August, 1879), 190.

helped spread the view that Johnson drank to excess, not only seized on the incident of his intoxication when inaugurated Vice President, but also implied that he was drunk when, on Washington's Birthday in 1866, he named as traitors three of the leading Radicals, Charles Sumner, Thaddeus Stevens, and Wendell Phillips. Admitting that Johnson's official papers were judicious and well-written, Blaine avoided praising the President, and, by crediting them to Secretary of State Seward, implied that he was too ignorant to produce such works.[13]

Hugh McCulloch, Johnson's secretary of the treasury, although friendly, was not blind to his chief's faults. Like Johnson's enemies, he observed that some of the President's offhand remarks "were in the worst possible taste." Feeling that Johnson's propensity for making tactless remarks was his greatest fault, McCulloch wrote: "If he had been smitten with dumbness when he was elected Vice President, he would have escaped a world of trouble." McCulloch also shared with Blaine the view that Johnson's effectiveness as an executive was impaired by his lack of decisiveness. The former banker was especially critical of his chief for not removing Stanton as soon as it became apparent that the Secretary of War had Radical sympathies. But McCulloch defended Johnson against charges of intemperance, and praised his honesty and devotion to the Union. The head of the Treasury Department felt that despite his lack of formal education the President "had few superiors" in intellectual capacity. Although admitting that the faults of his chief "were patent," McCulloch ventured to predict: ". . . when the history of the great events with which he was connected has been faithfully written, there will appear few names entitled to greater honor and respect than that of Andrew Johnson."[14]

In general agreement with Blaine were two other old enemies of Johnson who expressed themselves in the mid-eighties. George Boutwell, one of the managers in the impeachment trial, charged Johnson with treachery, stubbornness, and indecision in the *North American Review* for December, 1885.[15] Carl Schurz, in a speech delivered the same year, said that "President Johnson was, perhaps, the worst imaginable" man

[13] James G. Blaine, *Twenty Years of Congress, from Lincoln to Garfield,* 2 vols. (Norwich, Conn., 1884-1886), II, 70-71, 115, 182, 238-39, 267, 273, 306, 376-78.

[14] Hugh McCulloch, *Men and Measures of Half a Century* (New York, 1888), 88, 374, 391, 392, 394, 405, 406.

[15] George S. Boutwell, "Johnson's Plot and Motives," *North American Review* (New York), CXLI (December, 1885), 576.

for the task of reconstruction. The German-born immigrant, asserting that Johnson had an "ill-balanced mind" coupled with a "passionate temper," held that the President had not only rendered an injustice to the freedmen but had also caused prolonged suffering in the South as a whole by not forcing the defeated section to give the Negroes full civil rights immediately.[16]

Even while Johnson was being attacked by old enemies and defended by old friends a group of writers appeared who were able to take a more detached view of the events of Reconstruction. These observers, although from the North, took a more favorable attitude toward Johnson than had earlier and older writers from their section. Included in this group were Charles K. Tuckerman, whose impressions from an interview with Johnson when he was President were published in the *Magazine of American History* in 1888;[17] Henry Cabot Lodge, historian and politician, who contributed an article on Seward to *The Atlantic Monthly* in 1884;[18] Thurlow Weed Barnes, grandson and biographer of Thurlow Weed;[19] and George Merriam, biographer of Samuel Bowles.[20] These four represented Johnson as courageous, honest, patriotic, and well-meaning, but often tactless and politically inept. Three—Barnes, Lodge, and Merriam—credited Johnson with having tried to carry out the policy of Lincoln, which they implied was a wise one.[21] These men were the forerunners of the school, prominent in the early years of the twentieth century, which held that Johnson's reconstruction policy was the correct one, but that he had lacked the tact and political sagacity to carry it out.

A newspaperman of Johnson's era, Ben: Perley Poore, took a somewhat less favorable view of the presidential plan of reconstruction, but he also maintained that Johnson "was by nature and temperament squarely disposed toward justice and the right."[22]

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[16] Frederick Bancroft (ed.), *Speeches, Correspondence and Political Papers of Carl Schurz,* 6 vols. (New York, 1913), IV, 270.

[17] Charles K. Tuckerman, "Personal Recollections of Andrew Johnson," *Magazine of American History* (New York), XX (July, 1888), 39-42.

[18] Henry Cabot Lodge, "William H. Seward," *The Atlantic Monthly,* LIII (May, 1884), 682-700.

[19] Thurlow Weed Barnes, *Memoir of Thurlow Weed* (Vol. II of *Life of Thurlow Weed,* Harriet A. Weed, ed., and Thurlow Weed Barnes. Boston, 1883-1884).

[20] George S. Merriam, *The Life and Times of Samuel Bowles,* 2 vols. (New York, 1885).

[21] Barnes, *Weed,* 450; Lodge, "Seward," 699; Merriam, *Bowles,* II, 18.

[22] Ben: Perley Poore, *Reminiscences of Sixty Years in the National Metropolis,* 2 vols. (Philadelphia, c. 1886), II, 193.

Jacob Harris Potter's analysis of Reconstruction in the *Magazine of American History* was perhaps even more dispassionate than the works of Barnes, Lodge, and Merriam, but Potter took a much less favorable attitude toward Johnson. Potter felt that Johnson, by proceeding with his reconstruction plan without consulting Congress, both exceeded his constitutional authority and needlessly aroused the antagonism of the legislators. Potter agreed with the Radicals that reconstruction of the rebel states should have been more thorough and less rapid.[23]

Two other writers of the eighties who took a rather detached view of Johnson were John Clark Ridpath, whose *Popular History of the United States of America* was published in 1883, and George Cary Eggleston, who contributed an article on American Presidents to the *Magazine of American History* the following year. Both writers treated Johnson rather superficially and neither passed judgment on his reconstruction policy, but both described him as brave, stubborn, and intelligent.[24] The most favorable estimate of Johnson to appear in the decade was in Laura Holloway's book on the wives of the Presidents. Although the author tended to picture the husbands of all her gracious ladies in a favorable light, her praise of Johnson verged on the fulsome. Of his administration, she wrote:

> The most perilous, stormy, and trying one ever known in the history of this country; a record of rude unpleasant contact with defiled revilers, and a continued struggle from first to last to maintain untarnished the oath too sacred to be violated. Not here, but in the annals of history will all its triumphs be written; not in this day or generation can its untainted and correct measures be fully estimated, but to the coming men of America it is bequeathed, a sad acknowledgment of the tyrannous oppression of a President, and a testimony of his undeviating course, moving onward, swerving neither to the right nor to the left, but forward to the cradles of posterity who will pass judgment and wreathe immortelles to the memory of the patriot, whose truth will not be doubted, whose honesty cannot be impeached.[25]

In the last decade of the nineteenth century two more erstwhile opponents of Johnson voiced their views. John Sherman, who had voted for his conviction in 1868, wrote in 1895 that Johnson's plan for reorganization of the South "was wise and judicious," but he still felt

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[23] Jacob Harris Potter, "Reconstruction," *Magazine of American History,* XX (September, 1888), 207-08.

[24] John Clark Ridpath, *A Popular History of the United States of America* (New York, 1883); George Cary Eggleston, "Our Twenty-one Presidents," *Magazine of American History,* XI (February, March, 1884), 204.

[25] Laura C. Holloway, *The Ladies of the White House; or, In the Home of the Presidents* (Philadelphia, 1881), 596.

that the Tennessean's personal conduct left much to be desired.[26] Benjamin F. Butler, the chief manager of the impeachment, however, still maintained that Johnson's conduct of the affairs of government was so detrimental to the welfare of the nation that he was guilty of "high crimes and misdemeanors."[27]

In the late nineties two books on the American presidency were published. One, written by Edward S. Ellis, was aimed at a youthful audience and contained little on Johnson's policy. Ellis did, however, give an inspiring picture of Johnson as a poor boy who by hard work and ambition overcame his lack of economic and educational opportunities to become chief magistrate of the nation.[28] A more substantial work was Edward Stanwood's *History of the Presidency.* Essentially, Stanwood was an adherent of the view that Johnson's policy, which Lincoln had originated, was wise, but that the President's defects of character brought about the defeat of his own program. Stanwood saw "in President Johnson much obstinacy, little wisdom, and no tact."[29]

Both its scholarly nature and its specialized concern with Johnson and the problem of reconstruction set Charles E. Chadsey's *The Struggle Between President Johnson and Congress over Reconstruction,* published in 1896, apart from the other writings of the period before 1900. Chadsey was hesitant to make sweeping judgments about either Johnson or his program. He felt that both the Freedmen's Bureau Bill of February, 1866, and the Civil Rights Bill were moderate measures that should have been enacted for the benefit of the freedmen, but he respected Johnson's reasons for vetoing them. Chadsey viewed both the February 22nd speech and the "swing-around the circle" as political mistakes, but he recognized that Johnson might have failed regardless of how he tried to carry out his program. He implied that Lincoln, a man of greater tact and better judgment, might also have failed. Chadsey belabored both Johnson and the Radicals when he wrote: "The whole period of reconstruction is marked by blindness and prejudice on both sides. The spirit of compromise could find no place in either's plans."[30]

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[26] John Sherman, *Recollections of Forty Years in the House, Senate, and Cabinet.* 2 vols. (Chicago, 1895), I, 361, 364.

[27] Benjamin F. Butler, *Butler's Book* (Boston, 1892), 927.

[28] Edward S. Ellis, *Lives of the Presidents of the United States* (Chicago, c. 1897), 147-48.

[29] Edward Stanwood, *A History of the Presidency from 1788 to 1897* (Boston, c. 1898), 312-13.

[30] Charles E. Chadsey, *The Struggle Between President Johnson and Congress over*

Another author whose work, by both its nature and its position, foreshadowed the next period was William A. Dunning, who would himself be one of the most important writers of the early years of the twentieth century. Dunning, during the late eighties and nineties, wrote several essays on the Civil War and Reconstruction, principally for the *Political Science Quarterly* and the *Yale Review,* which were collected and published as *Essays on the Civil War and Reconstruction and Related Topics* in 1897. The Columbia University history professor approved Johnson's program,[31] but felt that "the bad judgment and worse taste of the President" brought about its defeat by driving potential supporters into the Radical camp.[32]

James Walter Fertig's doctoral dissertation at the University of Chicago, *The Secession and Reconstruction of Tennessee* (1898) was still another scholarly study which discussed aspects of Johnson's character and career. In the honest and hard-working Johnson's acceptance of the military governorship of Tennessee, Fertig saw evidence of a strong sense of duty and patriotism, since such a position could add little to his already distinguished public career. Believing that as President the Tennessean continued Lincoln's reasonable course, Fertig, while conceding that Johnson's temperament and disposition hurt his own cause, placed much of the blame for the presidential program's defeat on congressional disrespect and distrust of an executive who was not only new but a southerner as well.[33] By thus assigning factors largely beyond Johnson's control an important role in causing his policy's failure, Fertig anticipated later writers who would present an even more favorable picture of Johnson by dwelling almost exclusively on these outside influences. Fertig's work, with that of Chadsey and Dunning, also foretold the coming of the era of the professional historian.

During the last thirty years of the nineteenth century several southerners had an opportunity to express their views on Andrew

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Reconstruction (Columbia University *Studies in History, Economics, and Public Law,* VIII. New York, 1896), 39, 62, 66, 70, 98, 126.

[31] William Archibald Dunning, "The Constitution of the United States in Reconstruction," in *Essays on the Civil War and Reconstruction and Related Topics* (New York, 1931), 78.

[32] William Archibald Dunning, "The Impeachment and Trial of President Johnson," in *ibid.,* 253.

[33] James Walter Fertig, *The Secession and Reconstruction of Tennessee* (Chicago, 1898), 35-37, 101.

Johnson. Both Alexander H. Stephens, the Confederate Vice President, and Benjamin F. Perry, a Unionist who served as provisional governor of South Carolina during Reconstruction, felt that Johnson was patriotic and that his policy was magnanimous. Perry went so far as to say that "Johnson was, in all respects, a better, wiser, and greater man than Lincoln. . . ."[34] Another southerner, Hilary Herbert, who served as secretary of the navy under Cleveland, commended Johnson for trying to carry out the work of his "great predecessor."[35]

Richard Taylor, a former Confederate general and the son of a President, approved the broad outlines of Johnson's program, but found little to admire in the man from Tennessee. Taylor, who, while trying to obtain permission to visit the imprisoned Jefferson Davis, saw Johnson several times, was impressed by the President's intellectual ability, but found him narrow minded, obstinate, dogmatic, and indecisive.[36]

A more vigorous condemnation from a southerner was that of John W. Moore, who published a history of North Carolina in 1880. "Andrew Johnson," wrote Moore, "was essentially a demagogue. An intense egotism and desire for popular applause, superadded to a mulish obstinacy and the bitterest resentment, will explain all the errors and difficulties of his checkered existence." But even Moore admitted that Johnson could not be "bought by money."[37]

The Radical view of Andrew Johnson, which had predominated in the writings published during his last years in office, persisted through the next thirty years. In this view, Johnson was an evil man following an unjust and unwise policy. The reasons for the persistence of the Radical outlook are not hard to find. Many of Johnson's old political enemies continued to write about him, northern dominance of publications about the Reconstruction era continued, and younger writers were to a large extent dependent on the works of their anti-Johnson predecessors. While there were some—Johnson's secretary of the treasury, a

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[34] Alexander H. Stephens, *A Constitutional View of the Late War Between the States*, 2 vols. (Philadelphia, c. 1868-c. 1870), II, 649; Benjamin Franklin Perry, *Reminiscences of Public Men with Speeches and Addresses* (Greenville, S. C., 1889), 249, 260.

[35] Hilary A. Herbert, *et al., Why the Solid South? or Reconstruction and Its Results* (Baltimore, 1890), 8.

[36] Richard Taylor, *Destruction and Reconstruction. Personal Experiences of the Late War in the United States* (Edinburgh, 1879), 226-27, 239.

[37] John W. Moore, *History of North Carolina; from the Earliest Discoveries to the Present Time*, 2 vols. (Raleigh, 1880), II, 268.

woman writing about the ladies of the White House, and a southern governor—who penned highly laudatory evaluations of the seventeenth President, they were out of the main trend of thought. Of much greater significance was the new attitude that became apparent in some northern writers as early as the eighteen-eighties. These writers were willing to admit that Johnson was honest, patriotic, and well-meaning, and that his policy was the correct one. However, by pointing out that the presidential plan was originated by Lincoln, and then blaming its defeat on Johnson's faults and mistakes, they accepted in large part the Radical estimate of Johnson's character and executive capacity. This view of Johnson was one that could be accepted by all sections of the country. Richard Taylor, a southerner, for example, took much the same position as Lodge, Barnes, Merriam, Stanwood, and Dunning.

The emergence of the new attitude toward Johnson may be in part accounted for by the coming to maturity of men who had not been involved in the politics of the Johnson era. Henry Cabot Lodge, for instance, was only nineteen years old when Johnson's term ended, and Dunning was only eleven. Another reason for the change was that many northerners had come to feel that the Radical program had been both unwise and unsuccessful. Both the revolt of the Liberal Republicans in 1872 and the fact that the two major candidates for President in 1876 advocated the restoration of conservative rule in the South were indications of the northern reaction against the misgovernment and corruption that had occurred in the South under the congressional plan. If the Radicals were wrong, then Johnson must have been right, but it was easier to defend his policy, which was also that of Lincoln, than his personality and ability, which had hitherto been represented, perhaps misrepresented, mainly in the works of his enemies.

Some of the trends of the late nineteenth century—the tendency toward well-researched, comparatively objective writings; the growing acceptance of Johnson's honesty and good intentions, whatever his faults; and especially, the increasing prevalence of the view that Johnson's policy was sound, but that he himself had been responsible for its defeat—pointed toward the dominant characteristics of the early years of the twentieth.

II. Policy Commended, Leadership Deplored: 1900-1926

The period from 1900 to 1926 is distinguished from the preceding one primarily by the type of writing that prevailed rather than by a sharp change in outlook toward Andrew Johnson. Although letters, memoirs, diaries, reminiscences, and autobiographies continued to appear, they were overshadowed in both volume and importance by the works of professional historians. The period, which was also marked by an awakening of interest in the Reconstruction era, did show a trend toward a more favorable interpretation of Johnson, although the interest in the seventeenth President was not as intense nor the interpretation as favorable as would obtain during the six years from 1927 to 1932.

Both because of their importance as source material and because most of them appeared in the early years of the century, the memoir-letter-diary type material will be examined first. In number, at least, anti-Johnson works remained predominant among writings of this class. Works in which Johnson was viewed unfavorably included *Recollections of Half a Century* (1902) by Alexander K. McClure, a lawyer, newspaperman, and politician;[38] *Autobiography of Seventy Years* (1903) by George F. Hoar, the former senator from Massachusetts;[39] *Recollections of Thirteen Presidents* (1906) by John S. Wise, an anti-Johnson southerner;[40] the *Memoirs* (1908) of Cornelius Cole, former senator from California;[41] Carl Schurz's *Reminiscences* (1902);[42] *My Memories of Eighty Years* (1924) by Chauncey Depew, lawyer, businessman, and senator;[43] and the *Diary* (1926) of President Hayes.[44] The charges against Johnson were the old familiar ones—he had turned the South over to the secessionists;[45] he was stubborn, egotistical, and tactless;[46] and he was addicted to strong drink.[47] There was now a tendency, how-

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[38] Alexander Kelly McClure, *Recollections of Half a Century* (Salem, Massachusetts, 1902).

[39] George Frisbie Hoar, *Autobiography of Seventy Years,* 2 vols. (New York, 1903).

[40] John S. Wise, *Recollections of Thirteen Presidents* (New York, 1906).

[41] Cornelius Cole, *Memoirs of Cornelius Cole, Ex-Senator of the United States from California* (New York, 1908).

[42] Carl Schurz, *The Reminiscences of Carl Schurz,* 3 vols. (London, 1909).

[43] Chauncey Depew, *My Memories of Eighty Years* (New York, 1924).

[44] Rutherford Birchard Hayes, *Diary and Letters of Rutherford Birchard Hayes, Nineteenth President of the United States, Charles Richard Williams* (ed.), 5 vols. (Columbus, 1922-1926).

[45] McClure, *Recollections,* 63; Hoar, *Autobiography,* I, 256; Cole, *Memoirs,* 276; Hayes, *Diary and Letters,* III, 18.

[46] Cole, *Memoirs,* 276; McClure, *Recollections,* 64; Schurz, *Reminiscences,* III, 226-27.

[47] Depew, *Memories,* 49-50; Wise, *Thirteen Presidents,* 61, 111-12.

ever, even among those who had favored impeachment in 1868, to regard the charges against Johnson as insufficient to warrant his removal from office.[48] John S. Wise, from a prominent Virginia family and son-in-law of Hugh Douglas, a lifelong friend of Andrew Johnson, in addition to accusing Johnson of intemperance, charged him with having injured his native section both by opposing her during the war and by his later fumbling attempts to help her. Wise felt that Johnson, by his policy and irritating remarks, stimulated the Radicals to a more extreme program than they would otherwise have undertaken.[49]

These attacks were at least partially offset by the writings of Johnson's friends. William H. Crook, former head of the White House guard, reported in *The Century Magazine* in 1908 that Johnson was hard-working and business-like in his performance of duty,[50] that his speeches, although they appeared illogical and in poor taste as reported in Radical newspapers, seemed forceful, sincere, and dignified as he delivered them,[51] and that while seeing him almost daily he had never seen the President under the influence of strong drink. Crook believed that Johnson had sincerely tried to carry out Lincoln's policy, and that had Lincoln lived he would have been opposed and abused as was his successor.[52]

A much more significant pro-Johnson work was the *Diary* of Gideon Welles, published in 1911, after excerpts had appeared in *The Atlantic Monthly* during 1910. Welles' *Diary,* which has been used extensively as a source on the Johnson administration, was an important factor in bringing about a more favorable assessment of the President. Welles, Johnson's secretary of the navy and one of his most intimate associates, had great respect for his chief's mental capacity, patriotism, and firmness. He believed that Johnson composed his important official papers himself and mentioned that he had often seen him correct the dispatches of the well-educated Seward. Like McCulloch, however, the Secretary of the Navy spoke frankly of his superior's shortcomings, the most

[48] McClure, *Recollections,* 68; Cole, *Memoirs,* 277; Schurz, *Reminiscences,* III, 282.

[49] Wise, *Thirteen Presidents,* 109. The friendship between Johnson and Hugh Douglas began when both were young men in Greeneville. Johnson attended the wedding of Douglas' daughter and Wise.

[50] Margarita Spalding Gerry, "Andrew Johnson in the White House. Being the Reminiscences of William H. Crook," *The Century Magazine* (New York), LXXVI (September, October, 1908), 654.

[51] *Ibid.,* 664-65. A recent student of Johnson's speeches, Gregg Phifer, whose work will be examined in Part IV, subscribes to this view.

[52] *Ibid.,* 654, 661, 663.

serious of which he felt was indecision. Welles particularly regretted that Johnson had hesitated to remove Stanton from the cabinet as soon as the Secretary of War revealed his Radical leanings.[53] The former Connecticut newspaper editor also deplored Johnson's undignified speeches, and, like the President's enemies, attributed them to his background in Tennessee politics.[54] Although believing that Johnson's views on matters of policy were usually sound, Welles felt that he too often lacked the tact and administrative capacity to carry them out.[55] When Johnson left the White House, Welles, who had served in Lincoln's cabinet, wrote this final judgment:

> . . . No better persons have occupied the Executive Mansion, and I part from them, socially and personally, with sincere regret. Of the President, politically and officially, I need not here speak further than to say he has been faithful to the Constitution, although his administrative capabilities and management may not equal some of his predecessors. Of measures he was a good judge, but not always of men.[56]

Interest in the problems of Reconstruction grew after 1900. Not only were several books devoted to these problems but two national magazines, *The Atlantic Monthly* and *The Century Magazine*, during the early years of the new century each published a series of articles on Reconstruction. Although the *Atlantic* articles, which were published in 1901, were more concerned with various detailed aspects of Reconstruction than with an evaluation of presidential policy or leadership, they did reveal two characteristics of the early twentieth century which affected Andrew Johnson's reputation. First, the fact that the contributors included men of such diverse backgrounds as Thomas Nelson Page, the southern novelist, W. E. B. DuBois, the Negro historian, Woodrow Wilson, and Professor Dunning indicates that men representing all sections and opinions could now reach a national audience. Secondly, several of the writers took the position that the Negro, because of his racial inferiority, was, even in the twentieth century unprepared for the responsibilities of self-government.[57] Those who held such an opinion

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[53] Gideon Welles, *Diary of Gideon Welles*, 3 vols. (Boston, 1911), III, 7, 46, 61, 190, 315, 392.

[54] *Ibid.*, II, 439.

[55] *Ibid.*, III, 514.

[56] *Ibid.*, 556.

[57] Albert Phelps, "New Orleans and Reconstruction," *The Atlantic Monthly*, LXXXVIII (July, 1901), 125; Thomas Nelson Page, "The Southern People During Reconstruction," *ibid.* (September, 1901), 304; William A. Dunning, "The Undoing of Reconstruction," *ibid.* (October, 1901), 449; "Reconstruction and Disfranchisement," *ibid.*, 434.

could hardly avoid approving Johnson's policy, however they might judge him as a man or leader.

The writers who contributed to the *Century* series, which ran during 1912 and 1913, were generally more prone to pass judgment on Johnson than those who had written for *The Atlantic.* Yet the individual judgments are less significant than the fact that *The Century,* like *The Atlantic,* took care to insure that all viewpoints, southern as well as northern, pro-Johnson as well as anti-Johnson, were represented. The opinions themselves, whether pro or con, were usually repetitions of those that had been voiced earlier. Two authors—Harrison Gray Otis, editor of the *Los Angeles Times,* and George F. Edmonds, formerly a senator from Vermont—felt that Johnson was incompetent and his policy wrong;[58] two others—John B. Henderson, who was a senator from Missouri had been one of the seven Republicans to vote for Johnson's acquittal, and Clark Howell, editor of the Atlanta *Constitution*—subscribed to the "wise policy, poor leader" school;[59] while three—Hilary Herbert, a Democrat from Alabama, Gaillard Hunt, chief of the Bureau of Manuscripts in the Library of Congress, and Benjamin C. Truman, Johnson's former secretary—presented generally favorable views. Because of its use by later writers as a source for a personal picture of Johnson, the article by Truman, in which the ex-tailor from Greeneville was depicted as neat, temperate, courteous, serious, and hard-working, is perhaps the most important single article of the *Century* series.[60]

The first twentieth century biography, the Reverend James S. Jones' *Life of Andrew Johnson,* published at Greeneville in 1901, while lacking the paraphernalia of scholarship, was in many respects more akin to the works brought out between 1927-1932 than to those of the period in which it appeared. Jones' study, despite its four hundred pages, was somewhat superficial, being for the most part a simple narrative of events interspersed with long quotations, some of almost chapter length,

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[58] Harrison Gray Otis, "The Causes of Impeachment," *The Century Magazine,* LXXXV (December, 1912), 187-95; George F. Edmunds, "Ex-Senator Edmunds on Reconstruction and Impeachment," *ibid.* (April, 1913), 863-64.

[59] John B. Henderson, "Emancipation and Impeachment," *ibid.* (December, 1912), 196-209; Clark Howell, "The Aftermath of Reconstruction," *ibid.* (April, 1913), 846.

[60] Hilary A. Herbert, "How We Redeemed Alabama," *ibid.,* 854-62; Gaillard Hunt, "The President's Defense. His Side of the Case, As Told by His Correspondence," *ibid.* (January, 1912), 422-34; Benjamin C. Truman, "Anecdotes of Andrew Johnson," *ibid.,* 435-40.

from Johnson's speeches and papers. The minister pictured his subject as a great and good man whose intimate knowledge of poverty led him to become the "champion of the poor and the defender of the weak," and whose benevolent nature caused him to adopt the conciliatory policy of Abraham Lincoln. Jones excused Johnson's failure by pointing out that the task he faced was so difficult that success would have been highly problematical even under Lincoln's proven leadership. Whereas later sympathetic writers might seek to explain or justify certain unpleasant incidents in Johnson's career, Jones simply ignored them. Describing the inaugural ceremonies in 1865 as "elaborate and imposing," he made no mention of Johnson's unfortunate performance. Similarly, he avoided referring to the Washington's Birthday speech, and, while admitting that some of Johnson's remarks on the "swing-around the circle" were "violent," he included a four-page quotation from the speech in New York, perhaps the most dignified one of the tour, to show "the general tone of Mr. Johnson's addresses."[61]

A more analytical and scholarly study of the Reconstruction era was John W. Burgess' *Reconstruction and the Constitution* (1902). Although he balked at giving an unqualified endorsement of the plan of either President, the Columbia University professor of political science and constitutional law, after showing the similarity of Johnson's plan to Lincoln's, declared: "If Lincoln was right so was Johnson, and *vice versa*."[62] The sameness of the two plans, which had been pointed out before, but never so forcefully, would dispose others, less willing than Professor Burgess to find fault with the revered Lincoln, to accept the wisdom of Johnson's policy. As for Johnson himself, the Columbia political scientist felt that he was honest and patriotic, but incompetent. His over-all judgment was:

> The truth of the whole matter is that, while Mr. Johnson was an unfit person to be President of the United States . . . he was utterly and entirely guiltless of the commission of any crime or misdemeanor. He was low-born and low-bred, violent in temper, obstinate, coarse, vindictive, and lacking in the sense of propriety, but he was not behind any of his accusers in patriotism and loyalty to the country. . . . In fact, most of them were pygmies in these qualities beside him . . . he differed with them somewhat in his conception of what measures were

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[61] James S. Jones, *Life of Andrew Johnson, Seventeenth President of the United States* (Greeneville, c. 1901), 14, 129, 188-89, 216-20, 317, 320.

[62] John W. Burgess, *Reconstruction and the Constitution, 1866-1876* (*The American History Series*. New York, c. 1902), 37.

> for the welfare of the country and what not, but the sequel has shown that he was nearer right than they in this respect.[63]

Although David Miller DeWitt's *Impeachment and Trial of Andrew Johnson,* published in 1903, was concerned primarily with the injustice of the impeachment rather than with Johnson's policy, it did present the view that time had shown the wisdom of the presidential program. DeWitt regarded the impeachment itself as the culmination of a struggle, begun under Lincoln, between the legislative and executive branches of government. By representing the impeachment as a purely political maneuver, engineered by scheming and vindictive legislators such as Thaddeus Stevens, Charles Sumner, and Benjamin F. Butler, DeWitt evoked sympathy for "the stubbornest fighter in civil affairs among the self-made champions of modern democracy."[64] Although DeWitt had access to neither the Johnson papers in the Library of Congress, which were purchased a year after his book appeared, nor the *Diary* of Gideon Welles, published eight years later, his was the first book-length study backed by sound scholarship to present a generally favorable view of Andrew Johnson. In 1906, three years after DeWitt's *Impeachment and Trial,* Frederick Trevor Hill, in a much shorter work, but which, published in *Harper's Monthly,* reached a much larger audience, took an almost identical attitude toward Johnson and the impeachment.[65]

Johnson fared badly, however, in one of the most important works of the period, James Ford Rhodes' *History of the United States.* Rhodes, whose fifth volume, which with the following one covered Johnson's administration, was published in 1907, has been singled out by later partisans of Andrew Johnson as the prototype of those who unfairly abused the man they defend. Ironically, this writer has also been attacked by anti-Johnson Negro historians because of his low estimate of their race. Actually, Rhodes, a leading twentieth century proponent of the "wise policy, poor leader" school we saw developing in the last two decades of the previous century, did not differ fundamentally from some of Johnson's defenders. The attack on him stems in part from the

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[63] *Ibid.,* 191-92.

[64] David Miller DeWitt, *The Impeachment and Trial of Andrew Johnson, Seventeenth President of the United States* (New York, 1903), 1, 625-26, 629, *et passim.*

[65] Frederick Trevor Hill, "Decisive Battles of the Law. The Impeachment of Andrew Johnson: A Historic Moot Case," *Harper's Monthly Magazine* (New York), CXIII (November, 1906), 827-40.

fame of his work and his stature as a historian, and in part from his harsh treatment of Johnson as a man and leader.

Rhodes, although he belittled Johnson, had little sympathy for the Radical leaders, and less for their program. By giving suffrage to the Negroes, "one of the most inferior races of mankind,"[66] the Radicals, according to Rhodes, committed "an attack on civilization."[67] Lincoln's program, on the other hand, he judged a sound one, and recognized that "Johnson's policy substantially followed Lincoln's." However, feeling that Lincoln, wise, tactful, and conciliatory,[68] had been ideally suited for carrying out this program, and blaming his successor for its defeat, the Ohio-born historian declared:

> Of all men in public life it is difficult to conceive of one so ill-fitted for this delicate work as was Andrew Johnson. Born in the midst of degrading influences, . . . brought up in the misery of the poor white class, he had no chance for breeding, none for book education, none for that half-conscious betterment which comes from association with cultivated and morally excellent people. It is said that he never went to school for a day.[69]

Rhodes, admitting that Johnson was "a man of strict integrity," and that he had "intellectual force" and physical courage, charged that the President's good qualities were nullified by his egotism, obstinacy, and tactlessness. By mentioning that Johnson, while military governor of Tennessee, "began to drink to excess," charging him with being intoxicated when he spoke at Cleveland in 1866, and uncritically repeating James Russell Lowell's contemporary charge that the "swing-around the circle" was "an indecent orgy," Rhodes became one of the chief instruments for propagating the view that Johnson was an habitual drinker. Johnson's shortcomings, then, in Rhodes' eyes, outweighed his virtues, and worst of all was his incapacity as a leader. "No one else," according to Rhodes, "was so instrumental in defeating Johnson's own aims as was Johnson himself."[70]

In 1904 the Library of Congress purchased the Johnson manuscripts, a collection of documents covering the years 1831-1875 and containing over 15,000 separate items that Andrew Johnson had care-

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[66] James Ford Rhodes, *History of the United States from the Compromise of 1850*, 9 vols. (New York, 1893-1922), V, 556.

[67] *Ibid.*, VI, 35.

[68] *Ibid.*, V, 516, 527, 574.

[69] *Ibid.*, 517.

[70] *Ibid.*, 519-20, 575, 589, 618.

fully preserved.[71] One of the first historians to make use of these papers was William A. Dunning, who had long been interested in Reconstruction. One of Dunning's contributions to Johnson scholarship was his discovery, in 1905, that the final draft of the much-praised first message to Congress had been written by the historian George Bancroft.[72] Although others, Rhodes,[73] for example, might see in this discovery evidence of the President's ignorance and incompetence, Dunning, who pointed out that most Presidents, including Washington, had received help on their important papers, did not feel that making use of Bancroft's literary talents reflected adversely on Johnson.[74]

Dunning's major study of the post-war period was his *Reconstruction, Political and Economic,* volume twenty-two of *The American Nation* series, published in 1907, the same year that Rhodes' fifth volume appeared. Although depicting Johnson much more favorably as a man, Dunning belonged to the same basic school of thought as Rhodes. Like Rhodes, Dunning felt that Johnson had tried to carry out Lincoln's policy, which was a wise one based on mercy and conciliation, but that his stubbornness and combativeness alienated the moderate elements of the North whose support he needed and might have won. The Columbia University historian also shared Rhodes' attitude toward the Negro and black suffrage, writing that "Johnson had none of the brilliant illusions" that "beset the radicals as to the political capacity of the blacks," and that the "Freedmen were not, and in the nature of the case could not for generations be, on the same social, moral, and intellectual plane with the whites. . . ."[75] Even as regards Johnson's character Dunning and Rhodes were to a large degree in agreement, both holding that he was honest, courageous, possessed of native intellectual capacity, stubborn, and combative;[76] but, whereas Rhodes held that Johnson's drinking, lack of education, obstinacy, and aggressive nature incapacitated him for the presidency, Dunning did not stress these shortcomings.

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[71] Robert W. Winston, *Andrew Johnson, Plebeian and Patriot* (New York, c. 1928), 529.

[72] William Archibald Dunning, "A Little More Light," Massachusetts Historical Society *Proceedings* (Boston), ser. 2, XIX (1905), 400-01.

[73] Rhodes, *History,* V, 546.

[74] Dunning, "A Little More Light," 401.

[75] William Archibald Dunning, *Reconstruction, Political and Economic, 1865-1877* (Vol. XXII of *The American Nation: A History,* Albert Bushnell Hart, ed. New York, c. 1907), 35, 38, 43, 58, 61.

[76] *Ibid.,* 19-20.

James Schouler was the first historian to make extensive use of both the Johnson papers in the Library of Congress and Gideon Welles' *Diary.* As a self-avowed defender of Johnson, Schouler was in some ways akin to the Johnson partisans of the late twenties and early thirties, but his fundamental position was more nearly that of Rhodes and Dunning.

Schouler's interest in Andrew Johnson became evident in 1906, when he contributed two articles on the seventeenth President to *The Outlook* and presented a paper on him to the Massachusetts Historical Society. Although he made much of Johnson's honesty, courage, and patriotism,[77] and declared that his stand on Negro suffrage was "wise and honest,"[78] as was his policy as a whole,[79] Schouler, at this time, averred that the President's "wilful and inflexible temper, his adherence to plans impossible of execution, did harm to himself and his supporters, as well as to those southern fellow-citizens whom he had meant to succor." While James Ford Rhodes would not have quarreled with Schouler on these points, a difference in the attitudes of the two historians is apparent in the way they handled Dunning's discovery that Bancroft had written Johnson's first message. Whereas Rhodes used this as evidence of Johnson's ignorance and incapacity, Schouler saw in the use of wise counsel an indication of Johnson's own wisdom, and pointed out that even though Bancroft left the United States early in 1867 to become minister to Prussia, the President's papers continued "to show strength and dignity."[80]

By 1912, having had more time to study the Johnson papers as well as now having available Gideon Welles' recently published *Diary.* Schouler had become convinced that Johnson had been gravely wronged both by his contemporaries and by subsequent writers. In an article published in *The Bookman,* he predicted:

> We are just now at half a century's perspective from the period of Abraham Lincoln's tragic administration. . . . Next in order will Andrew Johnson's scarcely less troublesome term come up for posterity's judgment; and if we mistake not, that unhappy Executive,

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[77] James Schouler, "President Johnson and Negro Suffrage," *The Outlook*, LXXXII (January 13, 1906), 69-73; *id.*, "President Johnson's Policy," *ibid.* (February 3, 1906), 264-68; *id.*, "President Johnson's Papers," Massachusetts Historical Society *Proceedings* (Boston), 2 ser., XX (1906), 433.

[78] Schouler, "Johnson and Negro Suffrage," 71.

[79] Schouler, "Johnson's Policy," 264.

[80] Schouler, "Johnson's Papers," 432, 436.

> weighted with tremendous responsibilities thrust suddenly and inevitably upon him by fate, will be held in kinder regard by posterity than he was by fellow-countrymen during his lifetime.[81]

Shortly after making his prediction, Schouler himself set out to make it come true. It was for the purpose of rendering justice to the seventeenth President that he undertook the *History of the Reconstruction Period,* volume seven of his *History of the United States of America Under the Constitution,* after having planned to carry his work only as far as the end of the Civil War.[82] Schouler defended Johnson against charges of intemperance, declaring that he could find no evidence that the President was intoxicated on the "swing-around the circle," which Rhodes had called "an indecent orgy," and, while admitting that the Tennessean was not a total abstainer, pointed out that drinking was widespread during and immediately after the war.[83] Schouler was also diametrically opposed to Rhodes in his estimate of Johnson's qualification for handling the problems of reconstruction—Rhodes, as we have seen, found it difficult to conceive of anyone so "ill-fitted" for the task, while Schouler countered:

> For patriotism, energy and courage, both in winding up the conflict, and in bringing broad statesmanship to the problem of pacification, no Vice-President likely to have been a candidate in 1864 could have been better qualified in the whole country; and Johnson's intimate knowledge, moreover, of the South and of present Southern conditions, made him of invaluable service for reunion. . . .[84]

But Schouler, who charged that Rhodes' chapters on the years 1865-1869 were "quite unjust to Johnson," remained, like the Ohioan, an adherent of the "wise policy, poor leadership" school, judging that "Johnson proved himself a much wiser statesman than politician while in supreme station."[85] Elaborating on this somewhat, he wrote:

> This much maligned Executive was, on the whole, hard to comprehend and his record presents aspects contradictory. . . . He was stubborn in political opinions where he thought himself right, defiant, ready to fight for them; yet those opinions were just, enlightened, and such as only a sound and independent statesman could have formed. . . .
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> A combatant by temperament and largely wanting in those delicate arts of tactful management which ensure co-operation, this President

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[81] James Schouler, "President Johnson and Posterity," *The Bookman,* XXXIV (January, 1912), 498.

[82] James Schouler, *History of the United States of America Under the Constitution,* 7 vols. (New York, c. 1880-c. 1913), VII, iii.

[83] *Ibid.,* 68-69, 73; Schouler, "Johnson and Posterity," 501.

[84] Schouler, *History,* VII, 45.

[85] Schouler, "Johnson and Posterity," 499.

> created difficulties for himself at every step, while trying to carry out ideas of themselves sound and useful.[86]

A significant point of difference between Rhodes and Schouler was that while Rhodes attributed the failure to carry through the presidential program entirely to Johnson's shortcomings, Schouler, although agreeing to a certain extent, placed part of the blame on northern distrust of the President, a "serious misfortune without his fault."[87] Schouler's position was indicative of the final step in the rehabilitation of Johnson's reputation, a step that would be taken in the late twenties, which was to blame his failure almost entirely on factors over which he had no control.

Another multi-volume history appearing during this period was Ellis Paxon Oberholtzer's *A History of the United States Since the Civil War.* Oberholtzer, whose volume on Reconstruction was published in 1917, was neither as openly anti-Johnson as Rhodes nor as frankly pro-Johnson as Schouler, but, like both, he held that Johnson's policy was moderate and sound, and ascribed its failure to the President's being a "political ignoramus."[88] In addition to extolling Johnson's honesty and patriotism,[89] Oberholtzer defended him against the charges of habitual drunkenness, but he regarded the former stump speaker from Tennessee as something of a demagogue.[90]

Although perhaps less well known than the larger histories, one of the soundest works of the period was Benjamin Burks Kendrick's *The Journal of the Joint Committee of Fifteen on Reconstruction,* published in 1914. Kendrick was another who felt that Johnson's ability as a leader did not match the wisdom of his policy. Asserting that Johnson, had he been more willing to make concessions and less abusive in his language, could have won the support of conservative elements in Congress and carried out a moderate program, Kendrick assessed him as ". . . a first-rate stump speaker, a second-rate statesman, and a third-rate politician. . . ."[91]

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[86] Schouler, *History,* VII, 142.

[87] *Ibid.,* 45-46.

[88] Ellis Paxon Oberholtzer, *A History of the United States Since the Civil War,* 5 vols. (New York, 1917-1937), I, 29-31, 143, 477.

[89] *Ibid.,* II, 210.

[90] *Ibid.,* I, 404, 405.

[91] Benjamin Burks Kendrick, *The Journal of the Joint Committee of Fifteen on Reconstruction* (Columbia University *Studies in History, Economics, and Public Law,* LXII. New York, 1914), 153, 250-51, 253.

Still another historian who felt that Johnson's policy was correct, but who, like Schouler, while admitting that Johnson had committed political blunders, blamed his failure partly on factors beyond his control, was Lawrence H. Gipson. His article, published in the *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* in 1915, undoubtedly reached a large audience among professional historians. The author, then teaching history at Wabash College, although he used a large number of other sources, relied heavily on Welles' *Diary*. Fifty years after Johnson took office, Gipson wrote:

> . . . as time goes on it seems to testify with increasing clearness that the statesmanship of Johnson was not at fault so much as was the statesmanship of his leading critics. There were many men who far surpassed him in brilliancy of mental qualities, in idealism and culture; but it is to be doubted if there was a man living at that time who possessed a saner insight into the more vital of the national problems. . . . Always in sympathy with the Lincoln program, he promised not to break with it and he kept his promise. . . . It is to be doubted whether Mr. Lincoln with all his splendid gifts, could have won the battle. . . . There was too much misconception and sentimentalism to overcome; party necessity clamored too loudly. . . . The . . . mistakes of Johnson probably weighed little in the balance when compared to the vast opposition that at last developed under a wave of radicalism. . . .[92]

Clifton R. Hall, author of *Andrew Johnson, Military Governor of Tennessee* (1916), judged Johnson much less generously. While the scope of his study precluded an evaluation of the Tennessean's work as President, Hall made the following estimate of Johnson himself:

> His mind was narrow, bigoted, uncompromising, suspicious; his nature solitary and reticent; his demeanor coldly repellant [*sic*] or violently combative. . . . His harsh, domineering intolerance drove from him those who admired his impeccable honesty and patriotism and his brilliant abilities. . . .
>
> He was never able to supply the lack of a good elementary education . . . his spelling and grammar were always faulty.[93]

George Creel, who as head of Woodrow Wilson's Committee on Public Information during World War I had himself aroused the wrath of Congress by tactless and pugnacious remarks, presented an even more uncomplimentary picture of Johnson in the November, 1926, issue of *Collier's*. Regarding the ex-tailor as an arrogant, egotistical,

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[92] Lawrence H. Gipson, "The Statesmanship of President Johnson: A Study of the Presidential Reconstruction Policy," *The Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, II (December, 1915), 382-83.

[93] Clifton R. Hall, *Andrew Johnson, Military Governor of Tennessee* (Princeton, 1916), 218.

and embittered demagogue whose only redeeming qualities were patriotism and courage, Creel gave Seward and Grant credit for influencing Johnson to adopt Lincoln's moderate plan rather than the vengeful course his hatred for the southern gentry disposed him to favor.[94]

In *Notable Men of Tennessee,* written near the turn of the century and published posthumously in 1912, Oliver P. Temple also took an unfavorable, and somewhat unusual, view of Johnson. Although he regarded Johnson's southern policy as "wise and just," Temple, who had unsuccessfully opposed Johnson for Congress in 1847, questioned the President's motives. He charged that the former tailor was a calculating politician, totally devoid of "love and forgiveness," who, after having deserted his native section because he felt his chances for political advancement were better in the North, adopted a policy designed to win southern support and quickly restore the South to the Union in an effort to gain electoral votes for 1868. "In all the wide universe," Temple wrote of Johnson, "he worshipped no deity but that of ambition—the ambition to rise, to become great, to have his name sounded abroad, and to bestride the world."[95]

After 1900 the South was not only able to voice its opinions in national magazines but it also had access to channels of publication through numerous state and regional historical periodicals which had recently appeared. In addition, there were now many competent historians in or from the South, and it was no longer difficult to find publishers for books with a southern outlook. While much interest was evinced in the effects of Reconstruction on the South, many authors were concerned with such detailed aspects of the period that they passed no judgment on Johnson or his policy.

Several of the southern or southern-oriented writers agreed with their northern colleagues who held that Johnson's faults of character had led to the defeat of the magnanimous policy Lincoln had initiated. For example, Walter Lynwood Fleming, perhaps the most important southern writer on Reconstruction during this period, shared views similar to those of James Ford Rhodes. Fleming, in his *Sequel of*

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[94] George Creel, "The Tailor's Vengeance," *Collier's* (New York), LXXVIII (November 27, 1926), 23-24, 43.

[95] Oliver P. Temple, *Notable Men of Tennessee from 1833 to 1875, Their Times and Their Contemporaries* (New York, 1912), 418-22, 466.

Appomattox (1919) wrote that Johnson "had few qualifications for the task . . . was ill-educated, narrow, and vindictive. . . ." Believing that the "work begun by Lincoln and Johnson deserved better success," Fleming attributed its failure in large part "to mistakes, bad judgment, and bad manners on the part of the President."[96] Others who were in general agreement with Fleming were Edward L. Wells, biographer of Wade Hampton;[97] P. J. Hamilton, an Alabamian who wrote a volume on the Reconstruction period in 1905;[98] J. S. McNeily, whose study of Reconstruction in Mississippi was published in 1916;[99] and John Rose Ficklen, whose volume on Louisiana appeared in 1910.[100] A corollary to the general proposition accepted by these writers, and more stressed by the Southerners than by their Northern counterparts, was that Johnson, despite good intentions, had hurt his native section by the blunders which not only defeated a moderate policy but, even more to be deplored, also drove the Radicals to ever harsher measures.

Some of the writings that appeared in southern publications during this period are important because they advanced ideas which would loom prominently in the writings of Johnson's advocates a few years later. In *The Sewanee Review* in 1907, Thomas J. Middleton discussed Johnson's work while in Congress in behalf of the Homestead Act.[101] Another study on the same subject, by St. George L. Sioussat, originally published in *The Mississippi Valley Historical Review* in 1918, was reprinted in the *Tennessee Historical Magazine* two years later.[102] Johnson's work for free land would soon be stressed to show that he was the champion of the common man. The Tennessean's nationalism and patriotism, as contrasted to the sectionalism and political ambitions

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[96] Walter Lynwood Fleming, *The Sequel of Appomattox. A Chronicle of the Reunion of the States* (Vol. XXXII of *The Chronicles of America Series,* Allen Johnson, ed. New Haven, c. 1919), 71, 87, 121.

[97] Edward L. Wells, *Hampton and Reconstruction* (Columbia, S. C., 1907), 74.

[98] Peter Joseph Hamilton, *The Reconstruction Period* (Vol. XVI of *The History of North America,* Francis Newton Thorpe, ed. Philadelphia, c. 1905), 187, 220.

[99] J. S. McNeily, "From Organization to Overthrow of Mississippi's Provisional Government, 1865-1868," Mississippi Historical Society *Publications* (Jackson), Centenary series, I (1916), 80-81, 121.

[100] John Rose Ficklen, *History of Reconstruction in Louisiana* (Johns Hopkins University *Studies in Historical and Political Science,* XXVII. Baltimore, 1910), 98-100. Also approving Johnson's reconstruction policy, but forebearing a judgment of his leadership, were Will T. Hale and Dixon L. Merritt, *A History of Tennessee and Tennesseans,* 3 vols. (Chicago, 1913), III, 696; and John Trotwood Moore and Austin P. Foster, *Tennessee, The Volunteer State,* 3 vols. (Chicago, 1923), I, 535.

[101] Thomas J. Middleton, "Andrew Johnson and the Homestead Law," *The Sewanee Review* (Sewanee, Tenn.), XV (July, 1907), 316-20.

[102] St. George L. Sioussat, "Andrew Johnson and the Early Phases of the Homestead Bill," *Tennessee Historical Magazine,* VI (July, 1920), 14-45.

of his contemporaries, were emphasized by Curtis Nettels, of the University of Wisconsin, writing in *The South Atlantic Quarterly* in 1926,[103] and J. G. de Roulhac Hamilton, a prolific southern writer on Reconstruction, whose "The Southern Policy of Andrew Johnson" was published in the *Proceedings* of the State Literary and Historical Association of North Carolina in 1915. Hamilton, when the United States was on the verge of entering World War I and Woodrow Wilson was in the White House, proclaimed:

> The time has come for Americans to see him as he was; to hold up his noble qualities for the admiration and emulation of the generations of coming Americans. Never was there a more fitting time to study them; for in him was no divided allegiance, his patriotism was unhyphenated, and for such as he the inspiring phrase, fast becoming a nation-wide motto, of our Southern-born President, the first since Andrew Johnson, was unnecessary. In his doctrine and in his life he exemplified "America First."[104]

William L. Frierson, a former solicitor-general of the United States, in a paper published in the *Proceedings* of the Bar Association of Tennessee in 1922, stressed Johnson's courage in much the same way that Lloyd Paul Stryker would a few years later. Frierson, himself a Tennessean, from Chattanooga, avowed:

> Contrary to expectation, he took his stand in favor of the pacific policies of Lincoln, including opposition to negro suffrage. In view of his former utterances and the certainty that he was thus bringing on himself the resentment and hostility of party leaders, this was an act of superb courage.[105]

Another book deserving brief mention, primarily because it foreshadowed the coming period, is Don C. Seitz's *The Dreadful Decade*, published in 1926. Seitz, in a book flamboyant in style and devoid of the external trappings, as well as internal evidence, of sound scholarship, was unable to see any flaws in Andrew Johnson, blaming Thaddeus Stevens and Charles Sumner for all the evils that befell the nation in the years following the Civil War.[106]

The period from 1900 to 1926 is distinguished from the one preceding it by the greater amount of interest shown in Johnson and Recon-

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[103] Curtis Nettels, "Andrew Johnson and the South," *The South Atlantic Quarterly* (Durham), XXV (January, 1926), 64.

[104] J. G. de Roulhac Hamilton, "The Southern Policy of Andrew Johnson," State Literary and Historical Association of North Carolina *Proceedings* (Raleigh, 1915), 80.

[105] William L. Frierson, "The Impeachment and Trial of Andrew Johnson," Tennessee Bar Association *Proceedings* (Memphis, 1922), 126.

[106] Don C. Seitz, *The Dreadful Decade. Detailing Some Phases in the History of the United States from Reconstruction to Resumption* (Indianapolis, c. 1926).

struction, by the type of writing that prevailed, and by a generally more favorable assessment of Andrew Johnson. These three characteristics are to a large degree inter-related.

The decade of the eighteen-nineties has been called a watershed in American history.[107] During this decade the leadership of the nation passed from men still dominated by the prejudices and animosities of the Civil War and Reconstruction to a younger generation. Equally important from the standpoint of this study was the professionalization of all fields of scholarship that occurred during the last years of the nineteenth century. The formation of the American Historical Association in 1884 had already signalized the coming of a new era in historical writing, although the full effects of the change were not felt until the beginning of the new century. As a consequence both of the passing of the men who had lived during Reconstruction and of the rise of the professional historian, writings about Andrew Johnson tended to be much more objective and scholarly after 1900 than they had been before.

The considerable increase in attention to Johnson and Reconstruction during these years, a matter of notable interest to the student of the tailor-President, was due in part to history's becoming a profession. With a large body of trained historians at work, all phases of the American past, including the Reconstruction era, were subjected to a more careful scrutiny. William A. Dunning, perhaps more than any other individual, aroused interest in the post-war years by leading his students at Columbia University to undertake research on various aspects of Reconstruction. Southerners, by now active in teaching and writing history, as well as in other fields of scholarship and national life, found Reconstruction a particularly attractive and profitable area. There were, of course, factors other than the general increase in historical research that contributed to greater interest in Andrew Johnson. While southern historians were contributing to Reconstruction scholarship, a growing number of southern periodicals were providing publishing outlets for articles, including several about Johnson, bearing on the turbulent years that followed the Civil War. The availability of new sources, principally the Johnson papers purchased by the Library of Congress and Gideon Welles' *Diary*, stimulated some, especially James Schouler, to

[107] Henry Steele Commager, *The American Mind; An Interpretation of American Thought and Character Since the 1880's* (New Haven, 1950), 41-54.

re-examine Johnson's career. Also, since historians characteristically like to look at men and events from the perspective of a round number of years, the passing of the half-century mark from the time of his administration brought increased attention to Johnson.

Professional pride in their objectivity and an absence of emotional involvement in Reconstruction problems, perhaps reinforced by a tendency for each generation to challenge the beliefs of the preceding one, made most writers of the twentieth century reject the Radical view that Johnson was evil incarnate. In their effort to reinterpret Johnson, the historians of the new century were assisted by the Johnson manuscripts and Welles' *Diary*, both of which showed the Tennessean in a more favorable light than had the source material previously available.

A striking feature of the period was the widespread approval of the presidential reconstruction plan, even by those, like Rhodes, who held a low opinion of Johnson himself. In part, this acceptance of the soundness of Johnson's course was a result of Northern awareness, evident even among Republicans as early as the eighteen-seventies, that Radical rule had too often led to corruption and misgovernment in the South. Added to this was a changed attitude toward the Negro, manifest in the theories of the imperialists, who, during the latter part of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth, preached that America had a mission to look after the "backward" races of the world, and in the writings of several historians, including Rhodes, Dunning, and Schouler.[108] From the premise that the Negro was an inferior race, incapable of self-government even in the twentieth century, it followed that Johnson's stand against black suffrage was correct. Significantly, the reformers of this period, the Progressives, were interested in wiping out corruption in government and in regulating big business rather than in fighting for racial equality. Johnson, strictly honest, both personally and in his administration of the affairs of government, himself a workingman and an advocate of measures for the

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[108] C. Vann Woodward, *The Strange Career of Jim Crow* (New York, 1955), 52-56, feels that northern liberals began to retreat on the race issue during the eighteen-seventies, and that by the turn of the century even former abolitionists were arguing that the Negro's innate inferiority disqualified him from participating as an equal in the white man's civilization. Woodward explains that the liberals, reacting against the demagogic exploitation of old sectional animosities for political purposes, were disposed, in the interest of reconciliation between North and South, to accept a racial theory that justified dropping the Negro question. At the same time, the champions of colonialism were finding the doctrine of the superiority of the white race a convenient rationalization for their position.

common man, stood more nearly for the things valued by this generation than did the abolitionists or the Radicals. Johnson also represented patriotism and national unity, both highly valued by a generation which had twice seen the country involved in war with a foreign enemy.

The most common estimate of Andrew Johnson during the years 1900-1926 was that he had tried to carry out Lincoln's program, which was judicious and magnanimous, but that he had failed because of his own blunders in leadership. This view was accepted by writers who took such opposite positions on Johnson's character and capacity as James Ford Rhodes and James Schouler. Although most authors now agreed both that Johnson was patriotic, honest, and possessed of a great deal of native intelligence, and that he was stubborn, combative, and tactless, they differed greatly as to the comparative importance they placed on his good and bad qualities. Although some, Rhodes for example, implied that Johnson was a heavy drinker, an increasing number of writers denied this charge, and explained his moderate use of strong drink by pointing out that it was a characteristic of the period.

Prior to 1926 there were already indications of the next change that would occur in judgments of Andrew Johnson. James Schouler and Lawrence H. Gipson, while ascribing Johnson's failure primarily to his own mistakes, mentioned the role played by certain factors over which he had no control. During the coming six-year period pro-Johnson writers, by stressing these outside influences, would evoke a sympathetic picture of Johnson as a victim of hate and bad luck rather than of his own defects.

(To be continued)

FIRE PROTECTION IN OLD KNOXVILLE

By JOHN B. CLARK, JR.

Protection against fire has been a serious problem, especially in urban communities, throughout history. That it still remains a problem is indicated by the estimate that the current fire toll in the United States approximates 11,000 human lives and over a billion dollars in burned property. A study of fire protection—or, often, of the lack of adequate safeguards—in twelve southern states before the Civil War has revealed many similarities as well as diversities among the various cities and towns. It should be kept in mind that Knoxville, though a fairly old town, remained relatively small throughout the ante-bellum period and thus never achieved as much protection against fire as did larger southern cities. As will be mentioned later, Knoxville had only about 1,500 inhabitants in 1830 and about 3,700 in 1860. Nevertheless, the history of fire protection in old Knoxville offers a good example of typical conditions—problems and solutions—in southern towns of similar size.

The faulty chimney was a perennial cause of fire in ante-bellum Knoxville. Usually constructed of mud and wood, its only insulation was an interior lining of clay which, baked by heat and rain would in time fall away and allow the wooden house to catch fire. Also, because most roofs were composed of shingles or lengthier wooden slabs, sparks from a blazing chimney jeopardized the entire neighborhood. As early as February 2, 1802, Knoxville's board of commissioners forbade the erection of wooden chimneys as nuisances and ordered their removal on pain of a fifty-cent fine for every day they remained.[1] Two months later the town fathers "ordered that Richd Rosicrans be fined" fifty cents for not tearing down a wooden chimney in his home and directed him to remove it immediately. The same resolution ordered that John Wetzell, Nicholas Kearns, William Atkinson, Robert Craighead, Nathaniel Cowan, and John Saunders be fined fifty cents for permitting

[1] Minute Book, Knoxville Town Commissioners, Book A (1801-1834), 8-9. These manuscript records of the meetings of Knoxville's municipal council from 1801 to 1912 are preserved in the Knoxville City Hall. These volumes hereafter are cited as Minutes of Knoxville.

wooden chimneys to remain in their kitchens. However, the commissioners immediately suspended this directive until further notice.[2]

Chimney heights were regulated by an 1817 ordinance. On October 11 Knoxville's mayor and aldermen, who governed the town after its incorporation in 1815, ruled it unlawful to use any chimney which did not extend at least a foot above all woodwork within a radius of seven feet. Violators were to be fined two dollars every time they used such an illegal chimney. However, as in 1802 the town board soon reneged on a regulation by remitting "the fine assessed against Mrs. E. Flechheart for keeping fire in an unlawful Chimney—and contrary to an express Ordinance of this corporation."[3]

Additional regulatory ordinances were passed in January of 1827 and 1830. The former provided for committee inspection of all chimneys and stovepipes, with power to alter them in any manner necessary for safety of the town. The latter ordered that all chimneys and stovepipes should extend far enough above wooden parts of buildings "as not to ignite" them.[4]

Knoxville also tried to eliminate fire hazards other than chimneys and stovepipes, especially during the 1830's. On February 16, 1816, an ordinance for "regulating the Police of the Town" stipulated a ten-dollar fine for "carrying into, or using in any stable a lighted torch or candle without inclosing it in a lanthern," and a two-dollar fine "for building a fire in any street or ally."[5] An ordinance of 1831 regulated the erection of "hay, straw, and shuck piles or stacks," and in 1838 another measure prohibited the leaving of firewood or building materials in the streets.[6] In the latter year the aldermen passed a lengthy and detailed fire ordinance for the security of the town. Storage of "hay, fodder, hemp, and other combustibles" was banned where they might jeopardize adjacent structures. The shooting of guns, rockets, firecrackers, and other fireworks was also prohibited, as was the carrying of any unclosed lamp, candle, lighted pipe, or cigar into a stable. Wooden containers for ashes were made illegal. Slaves who violated

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[2] *Ibid.*, 13-14 (April 9, 1802).
[3] *Ibid.*, 43 (June 23, 1818).
[4] Percy M. Pentecost, "A Corporation History of Knoxville, Tennessee, Before 1860" (unpublished master's thesis, University of Tennessee, Knoxville, 1946), 39.
[5] Minutes of Knoxville, Book A, 3, 4, 6. This many-claused ordinance was to become effective after March 31.
[6] Pentecost, "Knoxville," 40.

this 1838 ordinance were to receive ten, twenty, or thirty lashes as punishment, unless their owners paid the fine. A ten-dollar fine was invoked for daytime false fire alarms, and a twenty-dollar penalty for those sounded at night. Lastly, a five-dollar fine was stipulated for any bystander who should refuse to aid in fighting a fire.[7]

During the 1850's more municipal legislation sought to remove or regulate sources of conflagration. An ordinance of March 26, 1852, forbade the placing of ashes "in any barrel, box or other combustible material" within or dangerously near any building. This enactment also required every blacksmith shop to have "a good and safe chimney to carry the sparks safely" outside on threat of a five-dollar fine for the first offense and ten dollars for subsequent violations.[8] In 1859 "bake ovens" were outlawed within fifty yards of Gay Street, the town's main thoroughfare. Both new and old ovens were required to be safely arched, and to have a sturdy flue long enough to prevent sparks from igniting the roof.[9] The town was still so small that its mayor and recorder were directed to inspect all new bake ovens and candy kitchens before they would be allowed to begin business.[10]

In almost every community the importance of an adequate supply of water during time of fire was a source of grave concern. Location of a town on a flowing stream or adjacent to a body of water did not necessarily enable it to obtain ample amounts to quench fire. This was true in early Knoxville, most of which was far too distant from the Tennessee River or from First Creek, its only adequate sources of water. In 1809 the town began to receive water from McCampbell's Springs piped through center-bored logs "laid along Tazewell Pike,"[11] but the quantity was quite insufficient for fire fighting.

Knoxville obtained a public cistern for fire protection in 1828. After a dearth of water had allowed a blaze to spread, on January 31 the town fathers recommended that Knoxville's citizens convene to consider "a novel expenditure of public money" for "the great utility of a Cistern situated in some suitable and Convenient place in case of

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[7] *Ibid.;* Minutes of Knoxville, Book B½ (1838-1857), 19-21. This comprehensive seven-section regulation was enacted on April 23, 1838.

[8] *Ibid.,* 50-51.

[9] Pentecost, "Knoxville," 41-42.

[10] *Ibid.*

[11] William Rule (ed.), *Standard History of Knoxville, Tennessee . . .* (Chicago, 1900), 93-94; Mary U. Rothrock, *Discovering Tennessee* (Chapel Hill, N. C., 1936), 301.

the visitation of providence by fire," adding that "its want was distressingly felt during the fire which recently occurred in this place—owing to the great difficulty in procuring early and regular supplies of water from the streams adjoining the Town."[12] Three weeks later an ordinance appointed a three-man committee to direct construction of a public fire cistern "on a suitable spot of the Court house lot." The committee had full choice as to size of the tank and how to fill it: "by pumps, pipes, or otherwise."[13] By July 16 a sizable cistern costing $130 had been completed. It was "in the clear fifteen feet square & at least seven feet deep,"[14] which would have stored around 10,800 gallons of water. A pipe connected it to a suitably-sized "Hydran[t] on Gay Street." This reservoir, which was sufficiently tight to contain water, was built by Samuel S. Thatcher, who was obligated to keep it and its pipe and "hydran" in "complete and good order" for ten years.[15]

Throughout the ante-bellum period, Knoxville continued to be short of water for both drinking and fire fighting. Mill ponds along First and Second creeks almost surrounded the town, but they were too far from many of the hilltop houses for effective bucket brigades. Furthermore, after 1838 these sources of water for quenching of fire were drained, mainly for health reasons. In 1839 the outstanding person in the creation of water works in the South, German-born Albert Stein—who built the water systems of Cincinnati, Lynchburg (*ca.* 1830), Richmond (*ca.* 1830-32), Nashville (1833), New Orleans (1840), and Mobile (*ca.* 1841)—was appointed to direct the creation of a municipal water supply in Knoxville.[16] Unfortunately, the endeavor was never completed. Likewise, in 1850 another flurry of activity concerned a projected water system,[17] for on August 7 the aldermen ordered the recorder to announce an election in ten days to determine whether town water works would be created[18]—but, as in 1839, the effort was fruitless. In 1854 a third abortive attempt was the decision to lend up to 10% of the value of the town's bonds to any individual

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[12] Minutes of Knoxville, Book A, 193.
[13] *Ibid.*, 198 (February 20, 1828).
[14] *Ibid.*, 201.
[15] *Ibid.*, 201-02.
[16] For more information on the constructive genius of Stein, see John B. Clark, Jr., "Fire Protection in the Old South" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Kentucky, Lexington, 1957), 131, 134-36, 139-42.
[17] Rule (ed.), *Knoxville*, 98.
[18] Minutes of Knoxville, Book C (1848-1858), 82.

who would build a gas and water works.[19] Six years later the town was still short of water, since on April 3, 1860, a petition of citizens caused the board to authorize construction of two large street cisterns at not over $200 each; one was to be placed near the intersection of Gay and Cumberland, and the other a block away at Gay and Main.[20]

Probably until 1859, when Knoxville at last bought two hand fire engines which used fire hose, bucket brigades were the ineffectual expedient used to combat fire. Whenever the alarm of fire was sounded, householders were expected to hasten to the blaze with their own fire buckets, which usually were made of heavy leather and averaged perhaps two gallons in capacity. Whenever enough inhabitants could be persuaded to attend a fire, they customarily formed two facing rows and passed the heavy buckets from hand to hand up one row from a well, spring, pond, First Creek, or the Tennessee River and dashed their contents against the flames. The other row, which normally included women, children, and elderly men, would relay the empty containers for refilling. Following the acquisition of the town's first engine by 1818, the main duty of bucket brigades was to pour water into its open tank.

Knoxville waited one-third of a century after being officially established in 1791 before enacting its first fire-bucket ordinance. On February 11, 1822, the town aldermen ordered each owner of a dwelling, office, or shop to procure a watertight leather bucket holding two gallons or more, and to use it only for fighting fire. A fine of five dollars a month was to be levied on each person not obtaining the required bucket, and a fifty-cent penalty was to be invoked for using such a bucket other than for a fire.[21] A newspaper article of February, 1824, states that few of the members of the Knoxville Fire Company were carrying their buckets to blazes. Also in the same year the aldermen ordered that $6.25 be paid to Joseph Bartholomew, a saddler, for mending twenty-seven of the town's fire buckets,[22] and in 1830 authorized the purchase of fifteen buckets by contract "with some person."[23] Early steps to promote fire protection in Knoxville were evidences of the embryonic condition of the community's sense of responsibility.

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[19] *Ibid.*, 192 (April 1, 1854).
[20] *Ibid.*, Book D (September 23, 1858-May 28, 1870), 87.
[21] Minutes of Knoxville, Book A, 86; Rule (ed.), *Knoxville*, 96-97; *Knoxville Register*, February 19, 1822.
[22] Pentecost, "Knoxville," 90; Minutes of Knoxville, Book A, 120 (March 17, 1824).
[23] *Ibid.*, 230 (February 12, 1830).

Although the town was important enough to be the state capital during 1796-1812 and 1817-18, no mention is found of a fire company until 1818. However, on July 6 of that year the aldermen ordered the treasurer

> to Procure, if in his power, the subscription paper respecting the fire engine purchased by Calvin Morgan Some Years Since for the use of the Town of Knoxville together with all the rules and regulations of the fire Company of Said Town and have them ready to lay before the Board at their next [meeting].[24]

At the following meeting five days later, the treasurer did obtain and lay before the town fathers "all the Rules and Regulations respecting the Fire Engine."[25] To judge from these uncorroborated statements in the municipal records, Knoxville had been using a primitive fire engine for some time before 1818, and was planning to have a company to operate it.

The town obviously owned such an apparatus, for on June 8, 1819, the *Knoxville Register* requested all interested residents to inspect it at the engine house for any needed repairs.[26] This first engine, according to William Rule, was used until the Civil War and was then destroyed. It was a large, four-wheeled, rectangular, open-topped wooden box, or tank,[27] which was kept filled with water by bucket brigades. As in many other American towns, the whole engine probably was often called a "tub."[28] The water flowed by gravity into one or a pair of pistoned cylinders within the box. No exact description has been found of Knoxville's machine, but doubtless it was operated by a squad of men who worked the pistons up and down in teeter-totter, or see-saw, fashion by alternately raising and depressing the "brakes" (i.e., wooden levers or handles) on each side or at each end of the engine. At every muscular downward stroke by the volunteers on the brakes, the apparatus probably emitted a loud thumping noise. The pistons forced water under great pressure up into a brass condenser case and on out through a rigid "goosenecked" nozzle about eight feet in length,[29] which protruded from atop the engine. Because human muscle operated the machine, it was literally a "hand engine."

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[24] *Ibid.*, 47.
[25] *Ibid.*, 48.
[26] Pentecost, "Knoxville," 89.
[27] Rule (ed.), *Knoxville*, 97. Doubtless this antique was retired after purchase of two new engines in 1859.
[28] Clark, "Fire Protection in the Old South," 374.
[29] Rule (ed.), *Knoxville*, 97.

Volunteers truly "manhandled" the machine in getting it to a fire. Scorning the use of horses in hauling it through the dusty or muddy streets, some of the men pushed from behind while others towed it with ropes. Since no American engine built before the 1820's was equipped with a hose, it had to be placed directly before, and close to, the burning structure. Then a fireman climbed and straddled the condenser case, grasped the goosenecked nozzle, and aimed the pulsating jet of water directly at the blaze.

Knoxville's mayor and aldermen finally recognized the need for concerted and controlled fire fighting by passing two ordinances to increase fire protection on February 11, 1822. As mentioned above, one required each owner of a house to possess a bucket solely for combatting fire. The other created the Knoxville Fire Company, whose officers were to manage the fire equipment. The organization, which was to consist of all males between fifteen and fifty in the community,[30] was to "exercise"—that is, practice with—its engine on the first Saturday of every month, on pain of fifty cents a man fine for non-attendance. A five-dollar penalty was provided for disobeying commands of the captain and four fire masters,[31] who were to superintend fire matters.[32]

Renovation and augmentation of Knoxville's fire equipment were often concerns. On February 1, 1823, the board ordered the fire engine repaired at public expense.[33] A year later it appointed three of its members "as a Committee to contract for and superintend the necessary repairs to the Engine House and Engine," and to have built three ladders and two hooks of suitable sizes.[34] A "large" temporary surplus in the town treasury was allocated to buying fire equipment by vote of the citizenry at a special meeting on February 17, 1828.[35] And on January 7, 1830, the board ordered the treasurer to pay C. McClung & Son $1.62½ "for material for repairing the engine."[36] Despite such efforts the town's fire defense remained inadequate.

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[30] *Ibid.*

[31] Minutes of Knoxville, Book A, 84, 85.

[32] Pentecost, "Knoxville," 37-38. John Boyd, Cary Hatcher, David Campbell, and William Park were chosen fire masters, and Calvin Morgan was named captain. *Ibid.*, 38; Rule (ed.), *Knoxville,* 94.

[33] Minutes of Knoxville, Book A, 101.

[34] *Ibid.*, 196 (January 17, 1824). Exactly two months later the board instructed the "High Constable" to have the engine repaired. *Ibid.*, 120.

[35] Pentecost, "Knoxville," 67-68.

[36] Minutes of Knoxville, Book A, 216.

Courtesy McClung Collection

Fountain Fire Department No. 1
Knoxville, Tennessee, 1860

Other frequent attempts to improve Knoxville's unsatisfactory fire protection became necessary after 1822. Some of the too-few volunteers who appeared at fires in 1823-24 tried officiously to usurp the position of fire masters and direct the fire fighting rather than labor earnestly to subdue the flames;[37] as often is the case, there were "too many generals and too few privates." The attempt to compel all male residents to be firemen proved so ineffective that on April 12, 1824, the community's flame-fighting unit was reorganized as the Knoxville Vigilance Fire Company.[38] Inspection of all chimneys and rebuilding of hazardous ones were ordered by ordinances of 1827 and 1830. A Tennessee act of 1830, when the slowly-growing town had only about 1,500 people, exempted members of the Knoxville Fire Company from peace-time militia service, if this body contained no more than fifty members.[39]

Maintaining an adequate fire-fighting organization in Knoxville continued to be difficult. On July 16, 1846, the board of aldermen ordered Mayor J. P. N. Craighead to direct the construction of a suitable house for the town's engine, and to inspect the fire hooks and buckets and if necessary have them repaired.[40] The municipal fire-fighting organization obviously lapsed into desuetude since a resolution of July 5, 1850, instructed the recorder to issue a call for a mass meeting at the courthouse in order to make another attempt to form a fire company for Knoxville.[41] Six months later the town constable reported to the aldermen that the engine was "in only tolerable order, 2 handles missing," and that fifty-nine buckets were in good order, with six missing.[42] By 1855 the Fountain Fire Co. No. 1 had been created to guard the town, for on March 1 of that year the aldermen received from this organization a request that the mayor "open a correspondence with persons in Cincinnati"—apparently with Alexander B. Latta, who in

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[37] Pentecost, "Knoxville," 90.

[38] *Ibid.*, 92; Minutes of Knoxville, Book A, 120, 122. Four weeks prior to this, at their March 17 meeting the aldermen had postponed a motion to reconstitute the fire company.

[39] *Private Acts of Tennessee,* 1829-30, p. 236 (January 9, 1830); Mary U. Rothrock (ed.), *The French Broad-Holston Country* (Knoxville, 1946), 120. This indicated abandonment in Knoxville of the plan to utilize all citizens as firemen, although it is probable that not only the men, but also the women, continued to be liable for bucket-line duty to augment the organized fire force, which would concentrate upon working the engine, demolishing endangered structures, and related tasks.

[40] Minutes of Knoxville, Book C, 13.

[41] Rule (ed.), *Knoxville,* 98.

[42] Minutes of Knoxville, Book C, 91 (January 17, 1851).

1853 had become the nation's first builder of steam-operated fire engines —to ascertain "the probable cost of a steam fire engine."[43] Unfortunately a dozen years passed before Knoxville obtained such a machine. In 1856 on Washington's birthday—probably the most popular day of the year in the Old South for enactment of fire legislation—the legislature granted a charter to this Fountain Fire Company No. 1 of Knoxville, granting it power to create and own a library and "to own a house and lot for its engine and books." No more than one hundred active members could be in this body; they were exempted from jury and militia service, "and from corporation poll-tax." As this act also incorporated Knoxville's Fire Company No. 2,[44] at last the only sizable town in eastern Tennessee[45] officially had two companies; yet it appears that only one of them possessed an engine.[46] In 1858 the legislature authorized formation of Knoxville Fire Police.[47] These officially commissioned fire guards had the dual responsibility of controlling spectators at fires and protecting endangered property against looters. A year later a town ordinance of March 24, 1859, implemented this statute by providing that the fire police could command any male spectator at a blaze to help quench the flames. White persons refusing to assist were subject to a fine of from five to ten dollars; any obdurate Negro could be whipped not more than fifty stripes, as directed by the recorder.[48]

In 1859 Knoxville tardily bought fire apparatus and revamped its fire protection. On January 28, 1859, a "Petition of Sundry tax payers, voters and citizens" asking the aldermen to appropriate sufficient funds to purchase two fire engines, hose carriages, and other paraphernalia was tabled temporarily "until the Mayor could have time to hear from the individual [probably in Baltimore] that he had been requested to write to."[49] Three weeks later, on February 19, two hand engines were purchased for $1,200 each from William Wilson of Baltimore; obviously they were already built since they arrived in Knoxville *via* Savannah around March 18,[50] on which day $182.88 for their freightage

[43] *Ibid.*, 218.

[44] *Acts of Tennessee,* 1855-56, pp. 260-61.

[45] Knoxville's population was 2,076 in 1850, and 3,704 in 1860. *The Seventh Census of the United States, 1850* (Washington, 1853), Vol. I, 574; *Seventh Census, 1870,* (Washington, 1872), I, 265. This census gives the population of Knoxville in 1860 as well as 1870, when it was 8,682.

[46] Furthermore, that machine probably was the antiquated tub of forty years earlier.

[47] *Acts of Tennessee,* 1857-58, p. 356 (March 19, 1858).

[48] Minutes of Knoxville, Book D, 38.

[49] Minutes of Knoxville, Book D, 24.

[50] Rule (ed.), *Knoxville,* 97, 104.

was ordered to be paid.[51] Two weeks earlier Aldermen Burt, Jones, and Mitchell were appointed to examine the old engine (apparently the original machine of 1818) to determine if it could be repaired, and—if it could not—what was to be done with it.[52]

By this time the community's fire companies of 1856 apparently had disintegrated, because new ones now were formed. The composition of the new fire department of 1859 was as follows:

> *Fountain Fire Co. No. 1*—Organized February 14th, 1859, Engine House ....
>
> A. M. Piper, *President;* E. J. Sandford [Sanford] and W. H. Sellick, *Vice-Presidents;* J. H. Jourolman, *Sec'y and Treas.*
>
> *Directors.*—A. Terry, John Titlow, G. S. Bolling, Isaac E. Barry, P. M. Williams, J. H. Parker. W. P. Elliott, *Chief Engineer.* B. F. Disney, V. H. Martin, Jonathan Mill, *Hose and Pipemen.*
>
> *Niagara Fire Co. No. 2.* Organized March, 1859, Engine House west side Crooked between Main and Cumberland.[53]

The officials of this company were:

> John Jackson, *Captain;* W. M. House, *1st Director;* John Miller, *2d Director;* John McGuire, *3rd Director;* M. J. Bearden, *Sec'y;* W. C. Daniel, *Treas.;* Thos. O'Connor, *1st Pipeman;* J. J. Bowser, *2d Pipeman;* W. W. Lackey, *3d Pipeman.* J. T. Harris and Charles Baum, *Axemen.*[54]

Additional steps were taken during 1860-61 to augment the fire service. On February 10, 1860, the board hearkened to the plea of the Fountain Fire Co. that its hose was insufficient, defective, and "of little use in case of a fire" by consenting to purchase for that organization 500 feet of hose as soon as it would specify the type wanted.[55] Five weeks later the town officials voted to grant $500 from any unappropriated funds to the "Niagara Engine Co." so it could "procure some additional hoes [hoses]" and to aid it in erecting a suitable building as quarters for its engine and apparatus. However, the Niagara was not to receive over $150 of this sum until it could prove to the board that it had purchased a suitable lot for the engine house.[56] After another three weeks the board received a petition from some thirty "gentlemen of the city" who had organized the Pioneer Hook & Ladder Co. in order to join the Fire Department. These members of Knoxville's first ladder

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[51] Minutes of Knoxville, Book D, 37.
[52] *Ibid.*, 36 (March 4, 1859).
[53] [C. S. Williams, (comp.)] *Williams' Knoxville Directory, City Guide, and Business Mirror. Volume I. 1859-'60* (Knoxville, 1859), 24. Crooked Street is now named Walnut.
[54] *Ibid.*
[55] Minutes of Knoxville, Book D, 78.
[56] *Ibid.*, 85 (March 16, 1860), 142 (March 22, 1861).

group asked the municipal officials to supplement the generous but too-scanty contributions of citizens toward buying a hook & ladder apparatus, and the aldermen donated an insufficient seventy-five dollars.[57] On March 22, 1861, the board made its last ante-bellum fire-fighting appropriation by agreeing to purchase 200 feet of hose costing $150 for the Niagara Fire Co.

Apparently little was done during the Civil War to improve or even maintain Knoxville's fire protection. But, after the resumption of peace, the legislature in 1866 extended for ninety-nine years the charter of Fire Company No. 1.[58] Knoxville belatedly purchased its first steam fire engine after a September 13, 1867, petition to the board had asked for such a machine on the grounds that "the Engine and Apparatus now in use are insufficient to protect property . . . , especially in the crowded part of the city." The petitioners wanted, and obtained, for $5,500 a new second-class rotary steamer made by H. C. Silsby and Co. of Seneca Falls, New York. This was a small brass engine which could pump only 300 gallons of water per minute;[59] yet this modest capability equalled the utmost efforts of thirty or forty men working strenuously in relays at the brakes of a hand tub. Thus, when this first representative of efficient and tireless steam, christened the "J. C. Luttrell,"[60] arrived on January 9, 1868, Knoxville began to abandon the era of proud but weary "vamps" laboring to exhaustion at the levers of a hand engine.

Knoxville's first ladder truck was a second-hand apparatus purchased in 1869 from Nashville. On March 12 of that year the aldermen voted $500 to help organize and outfit the Hook & Ladder Co.[61] Five weeks later the new group announced that they "had gotten up their outfit and needed a shed to store it in."[62]

In 1870 the town bought its last hand engine, nicknamed the "piano" because of its ability "to play" water. By 1885 a tiny, tax-paid fire department of seven men operating one steam engine and two sulky hose carriages superseded the volunteers with their hand pumpers in trying to protect Knoxville against fire.

[57] *Ibid.*, 88-89 (April 6, 1860).
[58] *Acts of Tennessee*, 1866-67, p. 73 (December 13, 1866).
[59] Minutes of Knoxville, Book D, 419-22. Twelve hundred feet of gutta percha fire hose at two dollars a foot and a two-wheeled hose reel capable of carrying 750 feet, costing $350, were also bought. Accordingly, the total expenditure was $8,250.
[60] *Ibid.* (November 8, 1867). Mr. Luttrell was mayor at the time.
[61] *Ibid.*, 537.
[62] *Ibid.*, 546 (April 16, 1869).

WILLIAM GIBBS McADOO AND THE 1920 DEMOCRATIC PRESIDENTIAL NOMINATION

By WESLEY M. BAGBY

William Gibbs McAdoo of Tennessee and New York could have won the Democratic nomination for the presidency in 1920 if he had openly sought it. As the best known and, by reputation, the ablest figure produced by the Wilson administration, he was the logical candidate of administration Democrats. Yet for months before the convention McAdoo, who prided himself as a man of action, was in a state of tortured indecision, now encouraging, now forbidding his followers to work for his nomination. On the eve of the convention, he announced that he would not permit his name to be presented. Later private assurances that he was receptive to a nomination, however, kept his boom going for forty-four ballots at San Francisco, but without any personal direction from McAdoo. "I never saw a man before take the position that he did. It was different from any politics I have ever seen," exclaimed one perplexed supporter.[1] This strange role was an adaptation to an extremely complex and delicate set of circumstances.

To begin, 1920 did not look like a Democratic year. Apparently the public had lost confidence in the Wilson administration and was determined to turn the Democrats out regardless of other considerations. As Wilson's son-in-law, exposed to the derisive epithet, "Crown Prince," McAdoo would be the candidate least likely to escape the effects of Wilson's unpopularity. Probably he would have a better chance of election if he waited until 1924. Would his chance of winning the nomination in 1924 be better if he took the helm of the party now or let another man take the inevitable defeat?

McAdoo, born in 1863 of an East Tennessee family which was temporarily residing in Marietta, Georgia, had attended the University of Tennessee where his father was professor of history and English. He later practiced law in Chattanooga and organized the company that

[1] Angus W. McLean testimony, *Presidential Campaign Expenses: Hearings Before a Subcommittee of the Committee on Privileges and Elections, United States Senate* (Printed pursuant to Senate Resolution No. 357, 66 Congress, 2 Session, for the use of the Committee on Privileges and Elections. 2 vols., Washington, 1921), 354.

electrified the street railways of Knoxville. After the Knoxville venture failed he moved to New York where he formed the company that built the Holland Tunnel. Entering politics, he played a leading role in managing Wilson's 1912 campaign, and became secretary of the treasury, chairman of the Federal Reserve Board, chairman of the Federal Farm Loan Board, and director general of railroads.[2]

Constantly before the country during the war, McAdoo's name was associated with the politically valuable Federal Reserve Act, Federal Farm Loan Act, War Risk Insurance, and higher railroad wages. His wartime patronage gave him the nucleus of a political machine. Moreover, he carried to his associates the conviction that he was of real presidential timber, capable of handling the crucial problems that lay ahead, although some suspected that this tall, lean, hawk-featured figure harbored a Machiavellian love of power. Organized labor favored him, he was endorsed by the Anti-Saloon League, and received 102,719 votes to 67,588 for Wilson in the *Literary Digest* poll.[3]

By the fall of 1919 a "McAdoo for President" club had been organized at the chapter house of the Kappa Sigma Fraternity at the University of Tennessee, and letters from prominent Democrats were pouring in to McAdoo urging him to declare himself a candidate. McAdoo boosters included the former chairman of the War Industries Board, Bernard Baruch, Postmaster-General Albert S. Burleson, Secretary of Agriculture Edwin T. Meredith, Assistant Secretary of the Navy Franklin D. Roosevelt, Assistant Secretary of the Treasury Jouett Shouse, Clarence Poe, editor of the *Progressive Farmer,* Texas National Committeeman Thomas B. Love, Governor W. P. Hobby of Texas, Senator F. M. Simmons of North Carolina, Senator John B. Kendrick of Wyoming, Senator William J. Harris of Georgia, Kansas National Committeeman Samuel B. Amidon, Robert W. Woolley of the Inter-

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[2] William Gibbs McAdoo, *Crowded Years* (Boston, 1931), *passim.*

[3] In October, 1920, Franklin K. Lane wrote: ". . . Wilson is as unpopular as he once was popular. . . . [He] bears down his party to defeat." Franklin K. Lane, *The Letters of Franklin K. Lane* (Boston, 1922), 359. Mrs. Antionette Funk was "appalled at the attitude of the people toward the President." Mrs. Antionette Funk to William Gibbs McAdoo, February 20, 1920, William Gibbs McAdoo Papers (Manuscript Division, Library of Congress), Box 445. Steve early reported that "The bitterness toward Wilson is evident everywhere and deeply rooted. He hasn't a friend." Steve Early to "Louie" Howe, August 12, 1920; August 14, 1930, Correspondence of Roosevelt Headquarters, Franklin D. Roosevelt Papers (Hyde Park, New York), Box 2.

state Commerce Commission, and Director of Education for the Democratic National Committee Mrs. Antionette Funk of Illinois.[4]

To letters offering support McAdoo replied that he could make no decision until the situation was more clearly defined, and he discouraged his friends from starting a campaign, but said that he would welcome their support if he did decide to seek office.[5] In late December, 1919, after a visit to the White House, McAdoo announced that he would not speak at the Jackson Day Dinner, which, in an election year, traditionally was the occasion for displaying Democratic talent for the nomination. Newspapers attributed his refusal to parade among the candidates to his uncertainty as to whether Wilson intended to run again.[6]

It was widely believed that Woodrow Wilson would run for a third term and, even after his collapse and ensuing paralysis in September, 1919, Wilson did nothing to repudiate the numerous rumors to that effect. In his letter to the Jackson Day Dinner Wilson called on Democrats to make the election of 1920 a "great and solemn referendum" on the League of Nations. Newspapers, particularly Republican newspapers, were quick to observe that on such an issue Wilson would be the logical candidate. Subsequently, the sick Wilson resisted great pressure put on him by his friends to withdraw his name from consideration. McAdoo could not fight his chief; yet he knew the delegates would never nominate Wilson for a third term, while he, McAdoo, could win the nomination if he fought for it. However, his finances had suffered during his years in the government and he now desired a period of private law practice to restore his fortune. But if he did not fight for the nomination would not his strong army of supporters desert, perhaps irretrievably, to some other man with a greater promise of victory? Well might such conflicting considerations make McAdoo a study in anxious indecision.[7]

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[4] Knoxville *Sentinel,* December 19, 1919; letters to McAdoo during 1919 and the spring of 1920, McAdoo Papers.

[5] McAdoo letters, December, 1919, *ibid.,* Box 445.

[6] New York *Tribune,* January 11, 1920, p. 1; New York *World,* December 30, 1919, p. 1; Washington *Star,* January 4, 1920, p. 3.

[7] New York *Times,* January 9, 1920, p. 1; New York *Tribune,* January 9, 1920, p. 1; January 10, 1920, p. 12, editorial; Chicago *Tribune,* January 9, 1920, p. 1; New York *Post,* February 14, 1920, p. 9; February 21, 1920, p. 9; Washington *Star,* June 25, 1920, p. 4; Mrs. Antionette Funk telegram to McAdoo, June 25, 1920, McAdoo Papers. Box 448. In 1952 McAdoo's son, Francis H. McAdoo, told the writer that McAdoo did not want the presidential nomination in 1920 because of his financial condition and because he thought that 1924 would be a more opportune year. However, he could not too

If Wilson sought renomination McAdoo's problem was so convincingly to avoid the appearance of seeking the nomination as to give his father-in-law and wife no grievance against him as contributing to Wilson's inevitable failure, but at the same time, to keep himself available for a "draft," when the impossibility of the nomination of Wilson had been clearly demonstrated. In late January and early February he wrote to supporters that he could not be put in the position of seeking the nomination, but that he would accept the nomination if the convention offered it to him, and in the meantime would not prevent his friends from doing whatever they felt they ought to do under the circumstances.[8]

In mid-February, however, the situation in Georgia demanded a more positive stand. If McAdoo did not enter the Georgia primary as the administration candidate, the red-hunting Attorney-General A. Mitchell Palmer probably would. Friends there urged him to enter, and, after much hesitation, McAdoo confidentially telegraphed his permission. But the next day he wrote an agonized letter to Wilson's private physician, Cary T. Grayson, seeking further light on Wilson's intentions:

> Of course, the President's silence makes it very awkward for me, even if I had an inclination to stand for the presidency—which, as you know, I have not, but it is not possible to resist the demands of one's friends to state either that they may proceed or that they may not. In the latter case, I should have to say flat-footedly that in no circumstances would I permit my name to be considered at the convention. It hardly seems fair to do this now with so many uncertain elements in the situation. . . .
>
> Any suggestions you may have to offer I shall appreciate. I am really very much perplexed.[9]

We do not know what answer McAdoo received but, reversing his decision, he withdrew permission to use his name in the Georgia primary. He was reluctant to "do anything that would create the appearance of a candidacy," he wrote, but, instead, would like the convention to be composed of delegates "bound to no particular candidate." However, he would "regard it as the imperative duty of any man to accept

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abruptly dismiss his followers unless he wanted to retire from politics permanently. Francis H. McAdoo to Wesley M. Bagby, November 19, 1952.

[8] McAdoo to Claude G. Bowers, January 24, 1920; McAdoo to Thomas B. Love, February 7, 1920, McAdoo Papers, Box 445.

[9] McAdoo telegram to F. W. Hazlehurst, February 13, 1920; McAdoo to Cary T. Grayson, February 14, 1920, *ibid.*, Box 445.

a nomination if it should come to him unsolicited." Wilson's private secretary, Joseph P. Tumulty, told McAdoo it expressed the proper attitude.[10]

Not under the same personal constraints as McAdoo, A. Mitchell Palmer bulled into open candidacy even though Mrs. Wilson told his manager, Vance McCormick, that the President had not made up his mind as yet and that it might be necessary for Wilson to run. Palmer sent word to Wilson that he would announce his candidacy if the President had no objection, that he would resign from the Cabinet if the announcement would embarrass the President, or that he would support whomever the President endorsed. Palmer got only the somewhat testy reply that he was free to do as he pleased, but the convention must be left entirely free. Nevertheless, he entered the Georgia primary as one who supported the record of the administration "in every phase."[11]

Under cover, McAdoo combatted the Palmer boom which threatened to capture the titular leadership of the administration wing of the party. Where Palmer sought to have delegates instructed for him, McAdoo countered with a call for uninstructed delegations. In North Carolina and in Iowa favorite sons Simmons and Meredith, friends of McAdoo, forestalled moves to instruct the delegation for Palmer. When Palmer protested a write-in movement for McAdoo in Pennsylvania, McAdoo replied that he had gone to considerable trouble to stay out of Palmer's way, that Palmer had sent his manager into McAdoo's state of New York, and that the protest made anything but an agreeable impression. By the eve of the convention the rift between McAdoo and Palmer was bitter and deep.[12]

When it appeared, early in 1920, that administration and progressive Democrats might seek to nominate Herbert Hoover, of unknown party affiliation but who had supported Wilson's appeal for a Democratic Congress in 1918, McAdoo saw numerous objections. The Demo-

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[10] McAdoo to Miller S. Bell, February 17, 1920, copy, Woodrow Wilson Papers (Manuscript Division, Library of Congress), VI, B, Box 264; Joseph P. Tumulty to McAdoo, February 20, 1920, McAdoo Papers, Box 445.

[11] Mrs. Funk to Daniel C. Roper, February 27, 1920, *ibid.*, Box 445; Josephus Daniels Diary, February 20, 1920, Daniels Papers (Manuscript Division, Library of Congress), Box 3; Joseph P. Tumulty, *Woodrow Wilson As I Knew Him* (Garden City, 1921), 495-96; New York *Tribune,* March 2, 1920, p. 1.

[12] McAdoo to Roper, December 8, 1919; A. Mitchell Palmer to Tumulty, May 10, 1920, McAdoo Papers, Boxes 445-46; New York *Tribune,* January 1, 1920, p. 7; April 19, 1920, p. 9; June 26, 1920, p. 1; McAdoo to Tumulty, Wilson Papers, VI, B, Box 264; New York *World,* June 28, 1920, p. 2.

cratic party was not so utterly and hopelessly gone, he said, that its only hope lay in accepting a "cast off Republican . . . especially a sexless one." Hoover's nomination would wreck the party, he said.[13]

However, McAdoo consistently refused to become an open candidate. He suggested that Ohio Democrats stand by their favorite son, James M. Cox, and he refused to enter the California primary. When told that he could not legally withdraw from the Michigan primary, he released in advance any delegates who might be instructed for him. Also, he requested the secretary of state of Pennsylvania not to allow his name to be filed in that state. He even abstained from one of those speaking tours which so many politicians unaccountably embark upon in the spring of election years.[14]

But while his public actions emphasized "I am not a candidate," his private letters emphasized that he would accept the nomination if it came to him unsolicited. He would feel it to be the imperative duty of any man to accept a nomination if it came to him unsought, and he would make the fight if asked to do so by a free convention, were among statements in letters of appreciation to his supporters.[15]

Although abstaining from a speaking tour, McAdoo did issue a number of statements on public issues. For farm journals he composed an article in praise of the Farm Loan System. Calling for a billion dollars tax reduction, he advocated delaying payments on the war debt for two years so as not to paralyze initiative. In April he set forth a kind of liberal platform—expressing concern about the tendency to impair free speech, advocating more taxation on unearned incomes, and suggesting that government ownership of railroads should be considered if private ownership proved unsatisfactory.[16]

In the meantime McAdoo's friends were active. A meeting in March, including Mrs. Antionette Funk, Robert W. Woolley, and

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[13] McAdoo to J. H. O'Neil, December 30, 1919; McAdoo to Roper, January 15, 1920, McAdoo Papers, Box 445; Daniels Diary, March 2, 1920.

[14] McAdoo to Frank B. Niles, February 27, 1920, McAdoo Papers, Letter Book 1; McAdoo to Coleman C. Vaughan, March 12, 1920; McAdoo to Mrs. Janet A. Fairbanks, March 31, 1920, McAdoo Papers, Boxes 445-46; New York *Tribune,* March 7, 1920, p. 19; McAdoo to the Secretary of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, April 8, 1920, copy, Wilson Papers, VI, B, Box 264.

[15] McAdoo to "Whitford," March 24, 1920, copy, *ibid.,* VI, B, Box 264; Josephus Daniels Diary, March 2, 1920; McAdoo to Franklin Houston, March 19, 1920; McAdoo to Jouett Shouse, May 3, 1920, McAdoo Papers, Boxes 445-46.

[16] Copy of farm journal article, *ibid.,* Box 445; New York *Tribune,* March 5, 1920, p. 5; April 26, 1920, p. 5.

George Creel, agreed to prepare newspaper and magazine articles, to gather information about the delegates, and to get McAdoo material into their hands, and to create the nucleus of a convention organization. Every precaution, they agreed, was to be taken to avoid the appearance of organized activity. The able and popular Daniel C. Roper, recently resigned commissioner of internal revenue, worked closely with McAdoo throughout the fall and spring, and was scheduled to go to San Francisco in June as McAdoo's convention manager. Bernard Baruch, also, used his extensive influence to promote McAdoo's strength.[17]

Friends of McAdoo soon reported success in securing delegations for him. A Texas supporter observed that McAdoo's managers were acting with wisdom and judgment, and Woolley wrote that his interests had been so admirably handled as to excite the admiration of both Democrats and Republicans. "Everybody in Washington" believed that McAdoo would be nominated on the first or second ballot, wrote Burleson in mid-May. Claude Kitchin congratulated McAdoo on his imminent nomination, and Carter Glass predicted that he would win on the first ballot. The New York *Times* listed a formidable array of McAdoo delegates: Texas, Oregon, Florida, both the Carolinas, Mississippi, two-thirds of Virginia, half of Alabama and Pennsylvania, and support in Illinois, Michigan, New York, Indiana, Washington, Idaho, Montana, California, Nevada, New Mexico, Arizona, and West Virginia.[18]

Suggesting that such results could not be obtained without money, the New York *American* charged that millionaires were backing the McAdoo boom. A congressional campaign expenses investigating committee, however, failed to uncover any McAdoo expenditures or even the workings of his nebulous boom. Although Mrs. Funk once wrote McAdoo that she was approaching the subject of finance through "our friend," she refused to accept contributions, and when Burris Jenkins, publisher of the Kansas City *Post*, was asked to nominate McAdoo he was told that they would not pay his expenses because they wanted to

[17] Mrs. Funk to McAdoo, March 13, 1920; McAdoo to Mrs. Funk, April 19, 1920; Herbert B. Swope to McAdoo, April 13, 1920, McAdoo Papers, Boxes 445-46.

[18] Edwin T. Meredith to McAdoo, March 16, 1920; J. W. Bailey to McAdoo, April 3, 1920; Samuel B. Amidon to McAdoo, April 27, 1920; Zach L. Cobb to McAdoo, April 14, 1920; Robert W. Woolley to McAdoo, April 24, 1920; Albert S. Burleson to McAdoo, May 16, 1920; Claude Kitchin to McAdoo, June 4, 1920; Woolley to McAdoo, June 10, 1920, McAdoo Papers, Boxes 445-47; New York *Post*, June 15, 1920, p. 1; New York *Tribune*, June 20, 1920, p. 1; New York *Times*, June 20, 1920, p. 1.

be able to say that not a dollar had been spent to obtain McAdoo's nomination.[19]

Just when his movement seemed about to become a bandwagon, on June 18, only ten days before the national convention was scheduled to convene, McAdoo startled politicians by emphatically announcing his refusal to allow his name to be put before the convention for the presidential nomination. His decision, he said, was "irrevocable." Having resigned from the cabinet in order to rehabilitate his fortunes, he said, he could not afford to make the campaign.[20]

McAdoo's statement was released at 6:00 P.M. That very morning the newspapers had carried a report of a remarkable interview with President Wilson by Louis Seibold of the New York *World.* Painting a glowing picture of Wilson's recovery, Seibold said the President transacted official business with all his "old time decisiveness, method and keeness of intellectual appraisement." Expressing confidence that the election would be a referendum on the League, Wilson condemned the "vanity" and "uncharitable or selfish impulses" of some who sought the Democratic nomination, and spoke of his own eagerness to fight for the League. "The views set forth by the President were plainly designed to announce to the country that the President is in every way still fitted to be a leader of his party and Chief Executive," remarked the *World.*[21]

Naturally, McAdoo's refusal to be considered for the nomination was associated with Wilson's apparent desire for a third term, and it was widely believed that McAdoo had withdrawn in favor of his father-in-law. The New York *Tribune* headline, "McAdoo Refuses to Enter Race, Wilson May Seek Third Term," was typical of newspaper reaction. McAdoo's withdrawal looked like "a certain indication that the President would like the nomination himself," agreed Illinois boss George R. Brennan and Tammany's Charles F. Murphy. McAdoo had received information that his father-in-law would be a candidate, reported the Chicago *Tribune.*[22]

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[19] New York *American,* May 19, 1920, p. 1; May 27, 1920, p. 1; Mrs. Funk to McAdoo, March 13, 1920; April 28, 1920, McAdoo Papers, Boxes 445-46; Burris Jenkins testimony, *Presidential Campaign Expenses,* 250.

[20] New York *Times,* June 19, 1920, p. 1.

[21] Harold Martin to McAdoo, June 19, 1920, McAdoo Papers, Box 447; New York *World,* June 18, 1920, p. 1, June 20, 1920, p. 1.

[22] New York *Tribune,* June 19, 1920, p. 1; New York *American,* June 19, 1920, p. 2; New York *World,* June 20, 1920, p. 2; Chicago *Tribune,* June 19, 1920, p. 2.

McAdoo's denial of the rumors associating his statement with third term plans was not very sweeping, maintaining merely that he "knew nothing whatever of the President's interview" until he saw it in the papers, and that the President had no advance knowledge of his letter of withdrawal. Mark Sullivan reported, however, that although there had been no consultation because McAdoo had tried five times in June to see Wilson without success, McAdoo's withdrawal was motivated by the feeling that he was embarrassing Wilson's plans.[23]

Some felt that McAdoo had not completely removed himself from the race. On the day of its publication Wilson asked Senator Carter Glass what he thought of McAdoo's letter. "He nowhere says he would not accept a nomination," Glass replied. "Very quickly the President responded with emphasis: 'No, he does not; as I read it.' " Three out of four politicians on the grounds at San Francisco regarded McAdoo as still in the race, reported the New York *Tribune,* and the Chicago *Tribune* editorially concluded that "Mr. McAdoo wishes us all distinctly to understand that if the San Francisco convention does not offer him the nomination he will not accept it."[24]

Carter Glass had gone to McAdoo's office on the morning of the 17th where McAdoo showed Glass the statement he intended to issue. When Glass protested that it would leave McAdoo's friends "in the air," McAdoo replied that he intended to ask them to support Glass. "All moonshine," protested Glass, but McAdoo insisted that he talk to Roper. Glass acceded to this request and subsequently recorded in his diary:

> Finally I said, "Roper, McAdoo nowhere says in that letter he would not accept a nomination; does he mean to go that *far?*" "He does not go that far. I persuaded him not to say that," replied Roper.
>
> There was something in Roper's look which caused me swiftly to vision the whole situation, and I said: "Then you must think the publication of this letter will help rather than eliminate McAdoo."
>
> "I do," said Roper, smiling.

A presidential nomination, however, is too sacred for levity, and Glass, who took himself very seriously, felt that he was being trifled with and did not cooperate with the plan.[25]

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[23] New York *Times,* June 22, 1920, p. 1; New York *Post,* July 1, 1920, p. 5.

[24] Carter Glass "Diary," June 19, 1920, Carter Glass Papers (Library of the University of Virginia); New York *Tribune,* June 20 1920, pp. 1-2; Chicago *Tribune,* June 21, 1920, p. 8, editorial.

[25] Rixey Smith and Norman Beasley, *Carter Glass* (New York, 1939), 206-07; New York *Tribune,* June 19, 1920, p. 2; New York *Times,* June 24, 1920, p. 1.

On the day that he released his statement McAdoo wired National Committeeman Thomas B. Love of Texas, his strongest field general, that he hoped that he would yield to his withdrawal and help keep him out of public life. When Love wired that his sense of duty required him to go ahead with his attempts to nominate him, McAdoo replied that, although he appreciated Love's friendship, it was impossible for him to run and he hoped his friends would acceed to his wishes. When Love sought clarification from Roper, Roper said he had told him all he knew, that no nominating speeches should be made, and that Love should stop messages to Roper. McAdoo also wired Burris Jenkins, who had been scheduled to nominate him, that his name must not be presented to the convention. Bernard Baruch and Thomas L. Chadbourne, who had planned to establish McAdoo headquarters, cancelled their hotel reservations, as did Roper.[26]

Leaders of the McAdoo movement took his withdrawal at face value. Such a statement had been feared for months, Mrs. Funk told the press. She wired McAdoo that she knew that his reasons were sufficient, and asked if he would endorse another candidate. Accepting McAdoo's decision as final, Shouse now called for the nomination of Glass. McAdoo's action was a national calamity, said Woolley. Ray S. Baker wired that he had thrown his support to Palmer: "If your reason is the one I have in mind you have no other course, but such a thing would be disasterous [*sic*]."[27]

However, the dispersal of the McAdoo forces to the banners of other candidates was soon arrested. On June 21 Mrs. Funk wrote that she had received a telegram from Roper that led her to hope still and to advise Ray Baker to stand firm and not go to Palmer. On the same day C. M. Brown of southern California wired to ask if McAdoo had changed his plans as described to him earlier. We do not know what reply Brown received, but on June 23 he told reporters that months earlier McAdoo had told him that he would make a statement asking

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[26] McAdoo telegram to Love, June 18, 1920; Love telegram to McAdoo, June 19, 1920; McAdoo telegram to Love, June 19, 1920; Roper telegram to Love, June 22, 1920; McAdoo telegram to Burris Jenkins, June 22, 1920, McAdoo Papers, Box 447; New York *Tribune*, June 19, 1920, p. 2.

[27] New York *Post*, June 19, 1920, p. 1; Mrs. Funk telegram to McAdoo, June 20, 1920; Shouse to McAdoo, June 19, 1920; Woolley telegram to McAdoo, June 19, 1920; Ray Baker telegram to McAdoo, June 21, 1920, McAdoo Papers, Box 447; New York *Tribune*, June 19, 1920. p. 2.

that his name be not presented, but with the understanding that the request would be disregarded.[28]

When newspapers carried a report by David Lawrence, chief political reporter for the Washington *Star,* that McAdoo was suffering from tuberculosis of the throat, McAdoo was infuriated. It was an example of the "dirty work the Palmer bunch" was doing, he told Baruch, and he immediately issued a vehement public denial:

> It is amazing that any reputable newspaper or individual would be guilty of such wanton falsehood. . . . It would be impossible for me publicly to characterize such despicable methods.

Roper, deploring that political tactics could have fallen so low, wired that the net effect apparently was to strengthen sentiment for McAdoo's nomination.[29]

On June 23 Glass told the press that McAdoo had not said that he would not accept, and that his withdrawal statement had only made him stronger. Roper would not go to San Francisco, McAdoo wired Mrs. Funk, but he believed that things would be worked out by Mrs. Funk and others so that a progressive platform and nominees would result. All was adjusted, Mrs. Funk telegraphed McAdoo on June 25, there was a tidal wave of sentiment for him, and the people were with him and "no one else." "Read this to Eleanor [Mrs. Eleanor Wilson McAdoo]." At the same time she told the press that McAdoo would accept the nomination: "Don't press me as to how I know but you can take it as authoritative." Again Love announced that Texas's 40 votes would be cast for McAdoo. It soon became clear that the McAdoo leaders were resuming their organized efforts.[30]

On June 28, the day the convention convened, McAdoo telegraphed warm thanks to the Texas delegation for their vote to support him, and he assured the North Carolina delegation that he would make no more withdrawal statements. Advising supporters to consult with Love, he wrote that if he should be called back into public life he would welcome their support and apparently he might be drawn again into poli-

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[28] Mrs. Funk to McAdoo, June 21, 1920; C. M. Brown telegram to McAdoo, June 21, 1920, McAdoo Papers, Box 447; New York *Tribune,* June 24, 1920, p. 2.

[29] Washington *Star,* June 23, 1920, p. 1; McAdoo to Baruch, June 23, 1920; Roper telegram to William D. Jamieson, June 24, 1920, McAdoo Papers, Boxes 447-48; New York *Tribune,* June 24, 1920, p. 1.

[30] New York *Times,* June 24, 1920, p. 1; New York *Tribune,* June 24, 1920, p. 1; June 26, 1920, p. 1; June 28, 1920, p. 1; McAdoo telegram to Funk, June 24, 1920; Funk telegram to McAdoo, June 25, 1920; Grayson to McAdoo, June 28, 1920, McAdoo Papers, Box 448.

tics in spite of himself. Newspapermen agreed that McAdoo had the best chance to win, and Wall Street odds placed him second to Wilson. When San Francisco newspapers reported that McAdoo would not accept if nominated, the McAdoo forces sought to counteract that impression. Consequently, when other candidates were nominated on June 30 Jenkins rose to announce that he would not make a speech because of insistent requests from his candidate, but that he was sure the convention would draft him:

> And furthermore, we know that if so drafted he will accept the nomination. Any rumor of telegrams supposed to have been received by me or anybody else now or in the future denying that he will accept the nomination, are falsehoods perpetrated by the enemies of our party. I therefore place in nomination William Gibbs McAdoo.

Jenkins' remarks signalled a forty minute demonstration which was louder and more convincing than the demonstrations for Cox and Palmer.[31]

The continued strength of McAdoo alarmed the bosses of northern urban Democratic organizations who felt that Wilson had regarded them as somewhat worse than Republicans. They feared that McAdoo would be another strong independent President. Furthermore, McAdoo was for prohibition, which would greatly handicap the party tickets in the predominantly wet northern cities. Soon a loose coalition of Charles F. Murphy of Tammany, George R. Brennan of Illinois, Fred B. Lynch of Minnesota, Wilbur F. Marsh of Iowa, Joseph Q. Guffey of Pennsylvania, and Thomas Taggart of Indiana was formed which, it was announced, controlled more than enough delegates to prevent McAdoo from getting the two-thirds vote necessary for nomination. Meanwhile the Hearst press hammered away at the "Crown Prince."[32]

Postmaster-General Albert S. Burleson, both a wet and a supporter of McAdoo, was apt to be mistaken for the official spokesman of Wilson. Consequently, Burleson was *persona non grata* to McAdoo leaders, who were dry and anxious to avoid the appearance that Wilson

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[31] McAdoo telegram to Cone Johnson, June 28, 1920; McAdoo telegram to A. W. McLean, June 29, 1920; McAdoo to B. F. Irvine, June 28, 1920, *ibid.*, Box 448; New York *Post,* June 30, 1920, p. 2, June 29, 1920, p. 2, July 1, 1920, pp. 1, 7; New York *Tribune,* June 29, 1920, p. 1, July 2, 1920, p. 1; New York *World,* June 27, 1920, p. 2, July 1, 1920, p. 1; Washington *Star,* June 29, 1920, p. 1; New York *Times,* July 1, 1920, p. 2; Mrs. J. Borden Harriman, *From Pinafores to Politics* (New York, 1923), 326-27.

[32] New York *Times,* June 20, 1920, p. 1, June 23, 1920, p. 2, June 26, 1920, p. 1, July 2, 1920, p. 1, July 7, 1920, pp. 2-3; New York *World,* June 24, 1920, p. 2; Chicago *Tribune,* June 26, 1920, p. 4, June 30, 1920, p. 3; New York *Tribune,* July 2, 1920, p. 1, July 5, 1920, p. 1.

was dictating McAdoo's nomination. McAdoo had stopped Burleson from making a public announcement for him. Burleson, the most "unpolitical" man he ever saw, was the most unpopular Democrat in the country, said Amidon. Nevertheless, at the convention Burleson declared, "McAdoo is going to be nominated," and added, "This is a Wilson convention. . . . The convention is going to do his will." In rebuke, Roper wired Burleson that the press seized upon every statement made by him to connect McAdoo disadvantageously with the administration, and suggested extreme caution.[33]

On the first ballot, Friday night, July 2, McAdoo led with 266, followed by Palmer with 256, and Cox with 134. No less than twenty favorite sons also received votes. McAdoo's strength was chiefly in the South and West, his largest single bloc being Texas's 40. Palmer's nucleus was Pennsylvania and Georgia, while Cox's vote came from Ohio and the metropolitan states. On the second ballot McAdoo increased only 23 scattered votes, Palmer 12, and Cox 25, including 20 from Mississippi, and the convention adjourned for the night.[34]

On Saturday morning McAdoo gained but slowly to 384 on the seventh ballot while Cox rose to 295½ and second place. On the next ballots Cox made steady gains, passed McAdoo on the 14th, and on the 15th stood 468½ to McAdoo's 344½, and Palmer's 167. Cox, however, proved unable to drive further toward nomination and near midnight Saturday the convention adjourned over the weekend, thoroughly deadlocked, with the vote standing Cox 430, McAdoo 372½, and Palmer 166½ on the 22nd ballot.

Conferences, the most important of which involved an abortive move by Secretary of State Bainbridge Colby, encouraged by the President, to nominate Wilson for a third term,[35] resulted in no changes of importance, and balloting reopened Monday, July 5, with the leaders almost unchanged. Grimly the ballots ground on through the morning, resulting in the same deadly sameness. On the 29th ballot, however, Indiana shifted eighteen votes from Cox to McAdoo and on the 30th

[33] Roper to McAdoo, March 4, 1920; Amidon to McAdoo, March 8, 1920, McAdoo Papers, Box 445; Roper telegram to Burleson, June 30, 1920, Albert S. Burleson Papers (Manuscript Division, Library of Congress), Vol. 26, item 4121; New York *Post,* June 28, 1920, p. 2; Chicago *Tribune,* June 28, 1920, p. 1.

[34] Speeches and votes in the convention are taken from *Official Report of the Proceedings of the Democratic National Convention, 1920* (Indianapolis, 1920).

[35] Wesley M. Bagby, "Woodrow Wilson, a Third Term, and the Solemn Referendum," *American Historical Review* (New York), LX (April, 1955), 567-75.

McAdoo again took the lead, 403½ to 400½. Taggart had pulled out, at least temporarily, from the anti-McAdoo coalition, giving McAdoo his best opportunity. By the 33rd ballot he had risen to 421 while Cox had slipped to 380½. But then his drive faltered and he fell back, though still preserving his lead over Cox. When at long last came the announcement that Palmer had released his delegates, Cox benefitted most and passed McAdoo for the second time 468½ to 440 on the 39th ballot. By the 43rd ballot Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana, and Virginia had gone to Cox, and on the 44th ballot he was nominated.

After the convention Edward H. Moore, Cox's manager, remarked: "Cox was the logical beneficiary of the unwillingness of the Democratic party, after full deliberation on all the circumstances, to nominate McAdoo."[36] More properly, Cox was the beneficiary of the circumstances which made McAdoo unwilling to wage an organized campaign for the nomination.

Although McAdoo's forces rallied surprisingly well from the shock of his June 18 ban on the presentation of his name, nevertheless, irreparable damage was done. The popular Pat Harrison of Mississippi, who had planned to lead the Mississippi delegation in support of McAdoo, joined the Cox forces after McAdoo's June 18 withdrawal. Harrison made an effective seconding speech for Cox, and became Moore's chief lieutenant as a Cox leader on the floor. Perhaps if Harrison had remained in his camp, McAdoo would have been nominated. Similarly, after McAdoo's withdrawal, the McAdoo men in the Tennessee delegation, over the opposition of Senator Kenneth McKellar, made a compact with the Cox men to vote the entire delegation, under the unit rule, for John Davis.[37]

Also, if McAdoo had been an openly avowed candidate the Palmer boom would never have developed. McAdoo would have forestalled the entry of Palmer into Georgia and defeated Palmer in the primaries. Unchecked, the activity of the red-hunting Attorney-General created a sharp split within administration ranks. Palmer became so incensed at McAdoo that, after Palmer's withdrawal, most of his delegates went to Cox. Furthermore, McAdoo's June 18 withdrawal stirred other

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[36] Washington *Star,* July 7, 1920, p. 1.

[37] New York *Tribune,* July 7, 1920, p. 1; Mrs. Funk to McAdoo, July 6, 1920; Kenneth McKellar to McAdoo, December 6, 1920, McAdoo Papers, Boxes 448, 450.

administration leaders, such as Carter Glass, Homer Cummings, Gilbert Hitchcock, and Bainbridge Colby, to hope for a deadlock from which the convention might turn to them. The balloting was characterized by a persistent tying up of a large number of delegates, chiefly administration delegates, among a field of favorite sons who did little for McAdoo.

McAdoo's supporters were also greatly handicapped by the fact that McAdoo's manager was not at San Francisco. No one was on hand with obvious authority to speak for McAdoo in making necessary political bargains. Consequently, high level political strategy was impossible. Although McAdoo's supporters worked with ardor, at the most critical moments it was impossible to get things settled. Without such handicaps it seems probable that McAdoo would have swept to the nomination, probably with an agreement by Cox to run for Vice-President.[38]

Did McAdoo want the nomination? On this the evidence does not all point one way. He seems to have spent much time in a state of indecision. It did not look like a good year for the Democrats, his close relationship to the unpopular President would be a handicap, and a campaign would mean neglect of a lucrative law practice. On the other hand, what would become of his following if he withdrew completely? Would they not inevitably become followers of someone else? Although he did not say that he would refuse the nomination, the preponderance of evidence, including private telegrams to his intimate supporters, indicates that by June 18 McAdoo had decided that he would not try to get the nomination. But his move to put his delegates behind Glass proved to be impractical and some of his supporters inclined to Palmer. By the opening of the convention he had apparently changed again and privately adopted a decidedly receptive attitude toward his followers, who were also encouraged by Roper.

The most important factor in determining McAdoo's strange political role in 1920 seems to have been Wilson's inviting attitude toward a third nomination. Fear that Wilson wanted the nomination caused him to withdraw from the Georgia primary, and his June 18

[38] Mrs. Funk to McAdoo, July 6, 1920; William D. McNulty telegram to McAdoo, July 4, 1920; McAdoo to "Durbin," December 29, 1919; McAdoo to Frank B. Niles, February 27, 1920, McAdoo Papers, Letter Book 1; Mrs. Funk to McAdoo, April 5, 1920, *ibid.*, Boxes 445-48.

refusal was apparently prompted by moves, such as the Seibold interview, that Wilson was then making for the nomination. Perhaps McAdoo really preferred to wait until 1924 and, perhaps, his last minute receptivity to nomination was motivated merely by desire to hold his following, or by resentment of Palmer's tactics. Nevertheless, it seems evident that the factor which prevented McAdoo from being drawn more fully into the contest and receiving the nomination was his fear that Wilson wanted to run for a third term.

Dr. V. M. Queener

VERTON MADISON QUEENER: AN APPRECIATION*

By Ralph W. Lloyd

Verton Madison Queener was a member of the Maryville College faculty for thirty-one years, beginning in 1927. Before that he had been a student for five years, taking his last high school year in the College's Preparatory Department (which has been closed now for thirty-four years), and taking all four of his college years here. He graduated in 1924 with the B. A. degree and a major in political and social science. So his work on the campus as student and teacher extended over thirty-six years.

After graduation from Maryville College he taught civics and economics at the high school in Portsmouth, Ohio.

In 1927 he was called back to the faculty of his Alma Mater. Here he met Evelyn Norton who was a new member of the faculty. A year later they were married and both have continued to teach. Their two sons, George and Jacob, grew up beside the college campus.

In his first year Dr. Queener taught English and coached the debate teams. Beginning in his second year and continuing until now his teaching field has been history. For twenty-three years he had charge of our inter-collegiate debating and forensic program and made a national reputation for himself and his teams. The respect and affection of his debaters and other forensic team members were evident in the enthusiastic testimonial dinner and fund they gave him last year.

In 1937 he was made a full professor; the next year, upon the death of Dr. James H. McMurray, he served as acting head of the Social Science Department. In 1938 we adopted the divisional plan for the curriculum and Dr. Queener was made chairman of one of the six divisions, that of Social Sciences, into which we group all our courses in history, sociology, economics, business administration, political science, and general social science. Thus, he has been chairman of the Division, as well as professor of history, for the past twenty years.

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*Adapted from the address given by President Lloyd at the funeral service held at Highland Presbyterian Church, Maryville, December 22, 1958.

He kept growing in scholarship to the last hour of his life. He earned three collegiate degrees: bachelor of arts from Maryville College in 1924; master of arts from the University of Tennessee in 1930; doctor of philosophy from Indiana University in 1940. He did graduate study also at the University of Chicago, the University of North Carolina, and the University of London, from which last he had just come.

As an undergraduate student he was active and outstanding in the life of the campus: a member of the intercollegiate debate team for four years, which was the foundation for his successful twenty-three years as debate coach; president of Pi Kappa Delta, honorary forensics fraternity; president of the Law Club; president of his literary society; business manager of the *Chilhowean;* treasurer of the YMCA; editor of the *Highland Echo;* president of the Student Council.

As a student and teacher of history and government, he believed that Americans should assume civic responsibility in the larger community as well as on the campus. And he practiced what he taught. He was a veteran of World War I, a Washington staff member in World War II, an active leader in his own political party, and a public servant. His broad and generous spirit is exemplified by the fact that, although active in one major political party, he wrote his doctoral dissertation on a study in the history of the other major party.

He became an active member of the East Tennessee Historical Society in 1930 and a sustaining member in 1941. In January, 1931, Maryville College served as the host for the Society's annual banquet, at which Verton Queener made the principal address. Dr. Queener was vice-president of the Society in 1932 and president in 1933. On several other occasions he served as a member of the Executive Committee, and he was a frequent contributor to the Society's annual *Publications.*[1] As in his other activities he considered his membership to be an opportunity for service.

The basic purpose of his life was to be a Christian teacher. The motivation for this came from his religious convictions and his Christian

[1] The list includes: "William G. Brownlow as an Editor," *Publications* No. 4 (1932); "Gideon Blackburn," No. 6 (1943); "The Origin of the Republican Party in East Tennessee," No. 13 (1941); "A Decade of East Tennessee Republicanism, 1867-1876," No. 14 (1942); "The East Tennessee Republicans as a Minority Party, 1870-1896," No. 15 (1943); "East Tennessee Sentiment and the Secession Movement, November, 1860—June, 1861," No. 20 (1948); "The East Tennessee Republican Party, 1900-1914," No. 22 (1950). He also published "The East Tennessee Republicans in State and Nation" in the *Tennessee Historical Quarterly,* II (December, 1943).

commitment. They in turn were rooted in the Church. His service was valuable in the church as it was on the campus and in the general community. He was not only a member but also a ruling elder of the Presbyterian Church. And to the Church as to the College he brought an unfailing spirit of tolerance, poise, good judgment, and good will.

Even in his three leaves of absence from the College one sees his basic motive of service. His first leave was in 1934-1935 when he spent a year at Indiana University studying toward his doctorate, a means to larger service. When World War II swept over the earth he asked for leave of absence that he might enter government service, and for three years, from 1943 to 1946, he held a responsible position in the United States Department of Agriculture at Washington. He could have remained there at a much higher salary than would ever be possible in college teaching. But the love of students and of teaching was in his heart. In my office one day he said, "I cannot get away from it. Teaching is my life work. And Maryville is my college." And so he came back to give another twelve years of dedicated service to three more generations of college students.

His third leave, just now over, also was to serve. He fully understood the purpose of our Sabbatical plan, whereby the College continues to pay full salary for a half year (or half salary for a full year) to those who are eligible, to increase their preparation for the future. The Sabbatical is not a reward for past service, as deserving as that might be. Rather it is training for the future. Dr. Queener was studying and traveling in the British Isles and Europe that he might deepen his understanding of history he had taught and hoped he would teach again. His classes scheduled to begin January 7, for which now we must find another teacher, include one in English history, another in American history, and yet another in world history in the 20th century. Are not these courses, which he himself planned, commentary on the deepening of his scholarship and the extent of his interest and concern?

When the end came, he had just reached again the shores of his own land, whose history and character he loved and about which again he was eager to teach. But in the providence of God, he will not teach these courses. He has been called into the presence of the Great Teacher Himself.

His going leaves us sad and the College weakened. Yet we shall always be grateful to God for his contributions to generations of youth, to community, church, and college, and to us. His works shall continue far beyond his earthly years.

Today we thank God for Verton Queener's life and work, commit him to the love of the Heavenly Father, and would rejoice for him in his new and larger service.

PAPERS FROM THE SPANISH ARCHIVES RELATING TO TENNESSEE AND THE OLD SOUTHWEST

Translated and Edited by
D. C. Corbitt and Roberta Corbitt*

(Continued from the East Tennessee Historical Society's *Publications,* Nos. 9-30)

XXII—February-March, 1793—Additions

[Translation]

TALK OF CARONDELET TO PIOMINGO AND OGOULAYACABE [NEW ORLEANS], [?] 1793[1]

From the Baron de Carondelet, Knight of the order of St. John, Colonel of the Royal Armies, Governor, Intendant General, and Vice Patron of the Provinces of Louisiana and West Florida, and Inspector of Troops, to Piomingo and Ogoulayacabe, Chiefs of the Chickasaw Nation.

Brothers

I have learned that, when you were on the point of coming to this Capital, rumors of war with the Creek Nation made you postpone the journey. This moment I have written General McGillivray[2] and the Captain and Commissary of the King[3] in the Creek Nation to dissipate this cloud that covers the two nations and makes them unhappy.

Brothers

Those who say that the black and white beads that the King of our nation has received from the Creeks signify a cloud suspended over the people of Thukhalia[4] talk badly; the Creeks will do you no harm, nor will our King consent to such an evil. Some bad men wish to get our friends the red nations into war with each other, so that they will destroy each other and wipe out all of them.

Brothers

I send my heart to the red nations; I wish their happiness and preservation; come therefore to this capital; I wish to press your hands very hard, and talk with you about things very useful to your nation, because I know that you are both good and intelligent men; if you wish to come down by the river the Governor of Natchez will furnish an armed and comfortable galliot.

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*For the editors' introduction see the beginning of the first installment of these "Papers" in the East Tennessee Historical Society's *Publications* (Knoxville), No. 9 (1937), 111-12. With few exceptions the letters printed are from transcripts and photostats of papers selected by A. P. Whitaker from the Papeles de Cuba in the Archivo General de Indias (hereafter cited as A.G.I., P.C.), Seville, Spain, for the McClung Collection in the Lawson McGhee Library, Knoxville, Tennessee.

[1] A.G.I., P.C., legajo 2353. The contents of this talk suggest that it was prepared in late February or early March.

[2] Alexander McGillivray. He died on February 17.

[3] Captain Pedro Olivier, recently appointed to represent the Spaniards in the Creek nation, and incidentally to undermine McGillivray's influence.

[4] Apparently a reference to the Chickasaw people as a whole.

FOOY TO GAYOSO, BAYOU PIERRE, FEBRUARY 25, 1793[5]

Sir

Ougulayacabe is at last Arrived at the Bayeau pierre by whom I have Received your favor datd the 13 of Febry. I Observe as your Excellency mentioned that he is Much Satisfied with your talks, & his Reception there.

He has likewise told me your discours with him, but Seems that he comprehended different to what your Excellency mentioned About the moti[ves] of M G[6] and the Other Chiefs. he Allo[wed] that it would be in the Chactaw [Choctaw] or Chehesaw [Chickasaw] Nation that being the medle g[round.] I have Reasoned with him for that purpose he Said that he wished you had Mentioned that place to him. I told him that no doubt you did not Expect that he would have perticularley any Objections, to that place, where it would be the most Sutteble, that Seemeley Over come him at Once to which he Ansered that if it Suted him & the chactaws it not possible Just the Other nation to come Such a distant.

But as he is afellow much Interesting for him Self & his nation he Seems to be disturb that Others Should profitt of what he by his going has Got the promiss of. he Seems to Expect that the corn and what ever is Sent for his nation will be sent up the Yasow [Yazoo] to A place the Indians cales Yockeney Petaffa or in English the Splitt Ground a Creek that runs in the yawsow a bout 50 or 60 miles from the Chehesaw towns, he tell me he has left a Barrill of Taffia which he Expects to come there. at the Natchez at Mr. De Grass,

He Seems to be determened if in his power that pay amingo[7] Shall Com[e] to See your Exelencey which I hope will have a Good Effect - - I Shall Likewise Remember what is mentioned about Mr. Perrey[8] the Chief has Got a hor[s]e from Mr. Rich[ards][9] But he is Small and Very Old and w[ill] not be very Exceptable I am Afrai[d.] I am Very Sencible of your Good Intention towards me & I can Assure your Excellencey that I Shall leave noting undone that Interest the Service, that my little Cappassite permits me to do.

I tank your Excellency for your Compliments on my yorney[10] & I Likewise wish for your Save Return from Orleans . . .

Benjamin Fooy

His Excellency
Manuel Gayoso deLemos
Bayeau Pierre the 25 Feby 1793

PERRY TO GAYOSO, CHICKASAWS, MARCH 4, 1793[11]

Chichasaws

March 4th 1793

Sir,

My dear Friend, I take this opportunity to write a few lines to you, that there is no news lately from the Americans worth relating to you, I have nothing

[5] A.G.I., P.C., 212. For Benjamin Fooy see *Publications* No. 28 (1956), 128n. Manuel Gayoso de Lemos was governor of the Natchez district.

[6] Apparently a reference to Alexander McGillivray.

[7] Piomingo, or Mountain Leader of the Chickasaws.

[8] Hardy Perry, a Choctaw trader who was often used as interpreter.

[9] Probably the Mordecai Richards who was granted land in 1792 on the Homochitto River below Natchez. *American State Papers, Public Lands,* 8 vols. (Washington, 1832-61), I, 891, II, 769. See below, Gayoso to Perry, for further reference to this horse trade.

[10] Journey. Fooy's Dutch ancestry shows up frequently in his letters. For his background see Lawrence Kinnaird (ed.), *Spain in the Mississippi Valley, 1765-1794,* 3 parts, Vols. II, III, and IV, *Annual Report,* American Historical Association (Washington, D. C., 1949), Part II, 29-30.

[11] A.G.I., P.C., 212.

I can write to you at present but what concerns this Nation, & as the times are now cautious for me now to write you the news, I refer you to the Bearer Clartauk a Chickasaw who is sent on business for this Nation, who can give you all the news here. I do not forget to tell the Indians what a good Man you are, and they seem to wish for your friendship, in this Nation very much, & so conclude with my friendship to your excellency your most Hble Servt.,

= Hardy Perry =

Manuel Gayoso deLemos

Es Copia
Gayoso

[Translation]

CARONDELET TO GAYOSO, NEW ORLEANS, MARCH 5, 1793[12]

Since it is convenient for the better service of His Majesty that we try to prevent the war which the Chickasaw Nation is about to begin against the Creek nation, and which from its background and the information available to me is being excited by Governor Blount;[13] and to take advantage of the Assembly or Congress that the Creek, Cherokee, Chickasaw and Choctaw Nations have agreed on for next Spring, to which there should also go deputies from several Northern Indian Nations to set up a permanent Congress of these same nations; and being persuaded that no one can carry out this important negotiation with more zeal, intelligence, and tact than Your Lordship; I have decided that Your Lordship will go to the place the said Nations have chosen for the Assembly, and, in accord with the instructions enclosed, negotiate with their Deputies or Representatives on this delicate matter; and in view of the fact that the Indians never listen to propositions that are not supported by presents, I have ordered sent to you those that I deem necessary, and I am sending from the Royal Treasury two thousand pesos for the expenses of your person and table, in the expenditure of which you will use all the economy possible, taking into consideration the enormous expenses charged against the *situado*[14] during last year to put this province in a reasonable state of defense.

As you go through Baton Rouge you will consult with John Turnbull[15] in order to get him to work through the sons he has in the Chickasaw Nation about the question of permission for him to construct at Chickasaw Bluffs a trading post protected by a fort which Spain will build at that place. I have agreed with him about the said establishment, for it is extremely important to remove from the Indians any suspicion that we intend to occupy their lands, and that Turnbull's sons obtain from the Nation its consent for the erection of this fort, without which the trading post cannot exist.

Considering this point with Turnbull, Your Lordship will refrain or not about touching on it in the general Assembly of the Indians, as the circumstances indicate, or wait for his sons to negotiate the matter in the Nation itself, in case Your Lordship considers it unwise to mention it in the said Assembly.

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[12] A.G.I., P.C., 2353.

[13] William Blount, governor of the Southwest Territory.

[14] *Situado* was the term used for the subsidy sent from the treasury of one colony to another. Louisiana and Florida received such help from Mexico (New Spain), along with Cuba, Santo Domingo, and Puerto Rico.

[15] For Turnbull see *Publications* No. 29 (1957), 142n.

You will order the three galleys, that will be at Natchez at the beginning of April, to go up the Yazoo with everything necessary for a campaign of four months, and for the construction of the fort, which will be surrounded later by an earthern redoubt and a stockade, to which will be sent a garrison of a captain and fifty men with four four-pounder cannon, all of which should be embarked in the galleys.

As soon as Your Lordship is sure of the consent of the Chickasaws the galleys will go to Chickasaw Bluffs under the command of Captain Pedro Rousseau and Don Guillermo Dupare,[16] to build the fort, spreading word that they are taking munitions and military stores to New Madrid. On arriving at the Bluffs they will land the artillery and troops; protect these from all chance of a surprise attack, but without showing signs of suspicion; and build the fort without delay so that it will be completed before the Americans can offer any opposition to the building of the fort; and since it will be about the first of July when low water will not permit the Americans to pass the rapids or falls of the Ohio and enter the Mississippi, this should not be difficult.

I will send the necessary orders to the Commandant of Arkansas Post[17] for him to supply the squadron with all assistance of men and food that may be necessary for the success of the expedition.

You will devote all your efforts to winning over to Spain the great chief Piomingo of the Chickasaw Nation, and his party, and to composing the differences between them and the Creeks, for I am sure that if a war breaks out between these two nations, the Chickasaws under the leadership of Piomingo will call in the Americans of Cumberland to help them, in which case we will be obliged to support the Creek Nation, which would unquestionably put us in open war with the American settlements west of the Applachian Mountains.

I hope that Your Lordship will have the same success in this matter that you had in negotiating the treaty at Walnut Hills last year,[18] for it will give me the opportunity to repeat to His Majesty the recommendation of your services.

May the Lord keep Your Lordship many years, New Orleans, March 5, 1793.

Baron de Carondelet

Señor Don Manuel Gayoso de Lemos.

[Translation]

CARONDELET TO CASAS, NEW ORLEANS, MARCH 9, 1793[19]

No. 69.
Confidential

Most Excellent Sir

Under number 1 I am sending Your Excellency a copy of the confidential letter that I have sent to His Excellency the Duke of Alcudia[20] concerning the death of McGillivray,[21] the chief of the Creek Nation, which could not have hap-

[16] The part of the galley in patrolling the Mississippi and preventing the Americans from occupying Chickasaw Bluffs is discussed in Kinnaird (ed.), *Spain in the Miss. Valley,* III, pp. xxxi, 111-33. The fort was not built until 1795.

[17] The commandant was Ignacio Delino.

[18] This treaty, negotiated in a meeting at Walnut Hills (Jackson, Miss.), May 11-14, 1792, somewhat placated Choctaw opposition to the construction of the fort there. See Kinnaird (ed.), *Spain in the Miss. Valley,* III, p. xv.

[19] A.G.I., P.C., 2353. Luis de las Casas, Carondelet's brother-in-law, was governor of Havana and captain general of Louisiana and the Floridas, 1791-1796.

[20] Manuel de Godoy, Duke of Alcudia and Prince of the Peace. At the moment he was the chief minister in Spain.

[21] He died at William Panton's house in Pensacola, February 17, 1793.

pened at a more inopportune time, and will perhaps be the cause of the separation of that Nation from the Spanish alliance, and of a war between it and the Chickasaw Nation, of which the Americans will take advantage to carry out their plans for settlements at Chickasaw Bluffs, Muscle Shoals, and on the Yazoo; for if it is not possible for the Chickasaws to resist the Creeks they will call in the Americans from the Cumberland settlement to help them, as one of their chiefs named Piomingo has already indicated, and the former will not lose such a beautiful occasion to put themselves on the Mississippi River.

To counteract the designs of the American Commissary Seagrove,[22] who has already sent a commission to see if he would be well received if he went to see them about a commercial treaty between the Nation and the United States, which would ruin Panton's firm, it has been necessary to convoke an immediate meeting of the principal chiefs of the Upper Creeks, which Mr. Panton has taken upon himself to do for there is no time to lose with Seagrove ready to go into the Upper Creek territory.

From the letter which Panton wrote me, a translation of which is enclosed under number 2,[23] you will learn of the means he suggests to hold for Spain the influence she had while McGillivray lived, and separate the Indians from a trade that would ruin Panton and make those Indians dependent on, and devoted to, the United States.

I have ordered Don Pedro Olivier, the Kings Commissary, to go immediately to Pensacola and try to dissuade the chiefs met there from entering into negotiations with Seagrove, and at the same time to persuade them to come and see me with Piomingo, the principal chief of the Chickasaws, and one who is very partial to the Americans, in order to stop the molestations and hostilities being carried out on both sides by some of the warriors: finally, I have charged them to elect some deputies to attend a general Congress of the four Nations, that has been called in the Choctaw Nation during the spring,[24] and which will be held probably on the Yazoo at a short distance from Walnut Hills.

From the letter and the introduction that accompanies as number 3, and the letter that I have sent to the Governor of Nachez, Colonel Manuel Gayoso de Lemos,[25] your Excellency will learn of he important ends toward which my endeavours are directed; if success corresponds to my hopes, the plans of the Americans for expansion and invasion will be disrupted for many years, and the way blocked for the passage they desire to obtain to the other side of the Mississippi and penetrate the Kingdom of Mexico by the River or by the Gulf of Mexico.

These negotiations cannot be carried out without expense; it is impossible to talk to Indians without giving them food and presents; the meeting of the Upper and Lower Creek chiefs in Pensacola will not cost less than four thousand pesos; the general Congress on the Yazoo will cost some ten thousand; the *situado* can no longer support such extraordinary expenses, so that it is necessary to take one or the other of these two paths: either to let the United States

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[22] James Seagrove, American agent to the Creek nation since March of 1792. See R. S. Cotterill, *The Southern Indians* (Norman, Okla., 1954), 100-08.

[23] Panton to Carondelet, A.G.I., P.C., 104 (transcript in the McClung Collection). A translation from a fragmentary and undated copy appears in Caughey, *McGillivray of the Creeks* (Norman, Okla., 1938), 355-56. This was translated from legajo 178.

[24] This congress did not meet until October, reasons for which appear in ensuing "Papers."

[25] The first letter is not available, but the other is Carondelet to Gayoso, March 5, 1793, printed above.

carry out their intentions of separating from Spain the allied nations that surround this province, which would undoubtedly be devastated and lost, as would be also the Kingdom of Mexico; or to restore the extraordinary expenditures, which has been done for one year, and to grant the pensions to the most influential Creek chiefs as proposed by Panton;[26] and since it is impossible to wait on this last point for Your Excellency's reply, I have decided what I consider most advantageous to the Royal interests, keeping in mind the economy demanded in the present critical circumstances.

May God our Lord keep Your Excellency many years, New Orleans, March 9, 1793.

Most Excellent Sir.

The Baron de Carondelet

His Excellency Don Luis de las Casas

[OGOULAYACABE] TO [GAYOSO], CHICKASAW NATION, MARCH 22, 1793[27]

Chickesaw Nation 22d March 1793=My Father, for I am your Children, I saw you at Natchez, and talked with life [like?] my reverend father, but Now I have got home I find we are like nopeople. I brought your talk home with me and gathered my Warriors together, and told them your talk was very good, but we are all Arm'd, and I am now Agoing to ask you for weapons of wars, for the Creek Nation, has killed us, and has broak out a war with us, we are your children and hope you will hilp us and Supply us with Ammunition to defend ourselves with. I hope you will not be long before you Supply us, but do it Immediately with Amunition from Natchez. I beg that when you receive this, you will grant me my pitition, and not let me Die for the want of Amunition to defend my self, and you to be asham of your Children after they are killed, this is not be thought it will turn to Nothing for the Creeks has killed one of us and we have killed four of them, I write you this but do not know how long I shall live for it is apowerfull nation that has commenced war with us— If you grant us powder we Likewise desire you'l Send us four Swivells and a quantity of Small Arms and flints as we are Surrounded and prevented from Hunting we Shall Soonbe Naked, I had the promise of Some Cloathing for flaps which I beg you'l Send with the Ammunition, though we may not live to See them long, I beg you'l Send us Some paint for it is a Custom With us topaint ourselves before we go to meet our enemy's—I beg that you'l Send the Supplys with the provisions that was mentioned when I was at Natchez for we are all on the point of pereshing by famine, If we dont by the Sword, I beg that you will make all the dispatch, as possible can be made to Send of the Provissions and Amunition which I hope you can do without taking time to Send to Orleans which would be too long to detain us, we dont expect but ever day will be our last.—I remai[n] your friend and Son=Oklauyockabby Mingo—Sir, I beg the favor of you to send me, the two barls. of Powder that I left last Summer in the Boats that brings the Corn, you likewise will send me Bullets in proportion to the Powder, and two Barls. Salt—

Tuskia-Took Mingo[28] you sent for Piomingo, and the Bearer brought the Talk, but as the War is broke out he has not received the Talk, right as yet, but

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[26] See Panton to Carondelet, February 20, 1793, cited in note 23, above.

[27] A.G.I., P.C., 212.

[28] Taskihatoka (Tuskeatocah) Mingo, a Chickasaw chief.

he abides by the Talk you Sent, and would come to see you, but he is now out after his Enemies;—My Father, we are not many that talk, but all the great men in this Nation join in this Talk and desire your assistance in what we sent for, that we may not die shamefully, for the want of Amunition, as there will be Indians along, we desire that the supply may be sent to the mouth of Yockny Pattafan up the Yasou.

[Translation]

ALCUDIA TO CARONDELET, ARANJUEZ, MARCH 30, 1793[29]

Copy—

Your Lordship said in your confidential letter number 26[30] of last January 8 that reports that you had just received about movements and preparations the Americans were making to form settlements on the banks of the Mississippi at Chickasaw Bluffs, on the Tennessee River at Muscle Shoals, and on the Yazoo had obliged you to decide to send to the said Bluffs five galleys and a gunboat,[31] on the pretext of carrying corn to the Indians, but in reality to prevent the Americans from making settlements at those point, by reasoning if possible but with force if necessary. This decision which Your Lordship has taken, with no time to receive orders from Havana, has merited the approval of His Majesty whose order I send you for your information and satisfaction.—God keep Your Lordship many years, Aranjuez, March 30, 1793. The Duke of Alcudia [Godoy] —Señor Baron de Carondelet.

[Translation]

VILLEBEUVRE TO GAYOSO, BOUKFOUKA, APRIL 4, 1793[32]

Boukfouka the 4th of April 1793

Sir and Dear Governor,

The said Mastechico,[33] Great Chief of the party of the Six Villages desiring to see you begs me to recommend him to you.

That party is really the one most attached to us and the one which it would be easiest to stir up. It is necessary therefore, to preserve it, I pray you to give him some little thing, and also the four men who accompany him. He will tell you, as he told me, how these people are mistreated by Forneret[34] the interpreter who no doubt knows that this is without risk in the City. It seems to me that he pays too little attention to those who are in the Nation.

I wish you the most perfect health and am with the most perfect consideration Dear Governor your most sincere Friend and Servant.

Juan de la Villebeuvre

Monsieur Gayoso de Lemos
Governor of Natchez.

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[29] A.G.I., P.C., 2354.

[30] This letter is not available, but it appears to have been summarized in Carondelet to Casas, January 9, 1793, that accompanied it to Havana (A.G.I., P.C., 1447, transcript in the McClung Collection). Carondelet told Casas of the reports about American settlements projected at Muscle Shoals. See also Gayoso to Carondelet, December 25, 1792, *Publications* No. 28, pp. 143-45.

[31] See note 16, above.

[32] A.G.I., P.C., 2353. Juan de la Villebeuvre was Spanish agent to the Chickasaw and Choctaw nations.

[33] For other chiefs of importance see Kinnaird (ed.), *Spain in the Miss. Valley*, III, [illegible]

[34] Fourneret. See *Publications* No. 30, p. 101n.

McDONALD TO O'NEILL, CHEROKEES, APRIL 5, 1793[35]

His Excellency Arthur ONeill Esqr
Sir

Not having the honour of receiving any estimation from your Excellency or the Governor of Orleans respecting the affairs of the Cherokees (Who now Consider themselves as Allies to Spain) rendered me in a great Measure at aloss, how to Conduct My Self, for want of the Necessary Instructions, or Whither (as I have been assured of) the Charge of the Nation are to be Commeted to my Care & Superentendency,—the office are atroublesom one, but if proffetable Shall have No objection to undertake it—

I have acted all along upon the faith of My friend Mr. Panton.[36] in bring about the Change in the State of the Nation—as it is Necessary I Should know the grounds upon which I am to act infuture I beg your Excellency to be explicit in Writing upon this Subject

Governor Blount are leabouring how to bring about another Treaty—With the purpose to get the frontier possessions again Confirmed by another Treaty—But His Excellency the Governor of Orleans assured the Indians that their Claims Should be recovered if posseble by the Court. I think expedient to endeavour to put it off tell Ihear from Your quarters upon the busseness—I have wrote a few lines upon this Subject to the Governor of Orleans.[37] Which together With the Indians Talk in answer to his I here transmit you by the bearer, Who I have employed for the purpose. So that Excellency will be good enough to bestow them Some presents for their trouble in going, two of them, as the Governor requested ahearing from the Nation as Soon as the Bloody warrior Should return—you Will be pleased to forward the letter with all Convenient despatch —the Contents Consists of, general profession of friendship, & their Claim in regard to the Boundary they wish to fix on—they insist for the total removal of Cumberland if possible, to obtain it—

the Creeks I fear will envolve them into trouble Notwithstanding the Governors advice to the Bloody fellow[38] to lay Still, tell they hear further —

I have the honour to remain
Your Excellencys Most Obt
& Most Dt Servt
Jno McDonald

Cherokees
April 5th 1793
His Excellency
Arthur O Neill Esqr. . . .

McDONALD TO CARONDELET, CHEROKEES, APRIL 5, 1793[39]

His Excellency Baron Carondelet
Sir

As I never had the honour of any Communication with your Excellency, or Governor ONeill, or any other person excep My friend Mr. Panton, I am, from

[35] A.G.I., P.C., 208. John McDonald was a trader of Panton, Leslie, and Company with the Chickamauga branch of the Cherokee Indians. Arthur O'Neill was governor at Pensacola.

[36] John McDonald had been recommended by Panton to Carondelet, September 7, 1792. See letter in *Georgia Historical Quarterly* (Athens), XXIII, No. 2 (June, 1939), 78-79. He visited Panton early and went back to labor for the Spaniards among the Cherokees. *Publications* No. 28, p. 133.

[37] McDonald to Carondelet, April 5, 1793, printed below.

[38] Bloody Fellow, a Cherokee chief.

[39] A.G.I., P.C., 208.

the critical Situation of the Nation, at aloss in a great Measure how to act with propriety

It is now nearly a Year since I began to exert My enflueance in presuading the Indians to turn their friendly views, & depend Wholly on the Crown of Spain for redress of greivens — I have procured this alteration at no Small leabour & trouble — and have perhaps gone greater length than good pollicy ought to derect, without being previously furnishd, With proper Authority — But I have entered into the Measure, from the presuassion of a friend, Who assured Me that My leabour would be hansomley rewarded if I Succeeded — the Indians have now been down, & returned to Their friends apparently well pleased — As they daily look to me for advice in the polliticks of the Nation Should be happy (if My Services are required) to be Speedly envested with the Necessary Instructions &c:

Governor Blount of the Western Territory are pushing hard for another Treaty wit[h] this Nation. It is proposed to be held the 17th this Instant Month — but as I conceive the entention of is get the frontier possessions Confirmed again, I Shall endeavour to put it off, till I hear your Excellencys oppini[on] upon the buisness — I have wrote Mr Panton[40] upon this Subject earley in the Winter — if My letter have gone Safe, no doubt but he has acquainted your Excellency with the Contents — Should that doubtful event take place I mean the total removal of the Inhabitants of Cumberland the Boundry line will begin (if it dont interfeare with the Northren Claim) Which I think Not, will begin at the Mouth of Green River Wher it falls in to the Ohio thence up to its Source, thence to the Sharp Mountain and thence along the Kentuck path through Powells Vally high up — this line if it Could be obtained in that quarter, would afford general Satisfaction —

The Bloody Warrior hopes your Excellency will be good enough in your Next Communication to acquaint him With the welfare of his Son, as he Sets a great Store by him, would afford him Much pleasure to hear as frequently as opportunitys Will admit . . .

John Mc.Donald

Cherokees
April 5th 1793
His Excellency The
Baron Carondelet . . .

OGOULAYACABÉ TO VILLEBEUVRE, CHICKASAW NATION, APRIL 7, 1793[41]

Chekesaws Nations April 7th. 1793
Friend & Brother

I Received your talk[42] this day with Great Satisfaction for it is good advise, but thought [though] there is a dispute between me & the creeks I Shall hold you fast by the hand Liken to a dying man, I went to See my father at Orleans[43] who Received me as his Own Chifs Likewise my father at the Natchez recieved

[40] McDonald to Panton, October 6, 1793, *Georgia Historical Quarterly,* XXIII, No. 2, pp. 196-98.

[41] A.G.I., P.C., 208.

[42] Villebeuvre to Chickasaw Nation, March 22, 1793, printed in *Publications* No. 30 (1959), 98-100.

[43] The chiefs had gone to New Orleans on special invitation of Carondelet. See Carondelet to Gayoso, December 18, 1792, printed in Kinnaird (ed.), *Spain in the Miss. Valley,* III, 103-06. Fooy was dispatched with the invitation for Piomingo, but did not go. *Publications,* No. 28, p. 142.

me with the Same kindness, And Come home with great Satisfaction, and kno that when I Got home I got Scarde. youl Acquaint my Real father at Orleans that this was not my own Seeking there fore my father at Orleans must not Say his Child is Mad—Any Child that meets With and Axedent Out of his fathers Sight greves & now I grieve after my father at Orleans My Absence to Orleans Seeking for the good & preservation of my life & Nation for we have nor Can make nothing of Our Selves but what our dependence is of the White people, pray dont you give the Creeks the Same Good talks as you give to this nation. We are a nation that hears to all your talks & takes them, but it appairs to me you give the creeks talks to abuse us, you have Sent talks to us Conserning what hapined it was not us that begun the war but the Creeks who I Supposed you have wrote to likewise for the [they] are like mad dogs your Sending talks to us, Examine we are not the trangressers there for you Ought to talk to them, for if you have the regard for us as you pretend you woud Certainly Send talks to the Creeks who are the people that dose the Mischief its your desire that the red people Should not kill Each Other but the Amunition you give the Creeks is to kill the white people perhaps you look on us Chekesaws to be as White people that we can make Amunition Our Selves, but Altho we have no Ammunition we are not Afraid of the Creeks who you Advice me to make a peace I have talk all the talk I Could talk but it is now Caried so far that talk will prevail no more. As you are the people that makes Arms & Amunition you Are the people that Ought to talk you Advice me to talk good talks but it is to late for good talks for I Expect it will be a hot & heavy war not only With this house but Neighbouring houses likewise I give you this talk & dont Expect Ever to talk to you more there fore when you Receive it you will look on it & Consider it as my person — I wrote Some time ago to the Governor of Orleans & Natches who I Expect has by this, time Received the talk. I have now Acquainted you with the Situation of this nation, My body is full of talks that I Received from my father at Orleans & Natches So that When I die I Shall not die like a Red men but Shall die like a Spanish king, I hold you all fast by the hand Which holt I will never quit til I Die I have Sent talks to the Red people like my Self when Ever you hear Any of our talks to Our Brothers the Chactaws I desire that you may not Meddle with them but leave it to themselves Either to take or let Alone I now See my Brothers the Chactaws & am talking to them who are the Same As though we Sucked One Breast & had One father there fore desire that you will not meddle with any talk we send them

A Man that has a great many Children they will at times quarrell & Undoubtedly the One that begun the quarrell Ought to be Corrected by his father

I am your Friend & Brother

Oaklauyockabby

Coppee

GAYOSO TO TURNBULL, NATCHEZ, APRIL 7, 1793[44]

Copia.

No. 1.

Sir = You are acquainted with the important plan in view for the tranquility of the Indian Nations our friends & Neighbours. To accomplish the said Plan the Governor General of this Province has put the whole business under my

[44] A.G.I., P.C., 2353. This is the first of seven letters numbered 1 to 7 that were enclosed in Gayoso to Carondelet, April 11, 1793, printed below.

immediate care & direction, therefore you will follow the instructions that I shall prescribe.

"You are charged with letters for the Chacta [Choctaw] Nation that you will either deliver or send with the greatest security to Mr. De Lavillebeuvre our Commissary there.

"Should you go to the Chacta Nation you will there give the same talks to your friends as in the Chicacha [Chickasaw] Nation with the difference that you need not call any Assembly for Mr. De Lavillebeuvre has my particular orders to do it.

"With any Indians that you should meet on your way, you will do the same, & if they are comming here or to New Orleans without any particular motive, you will advise them to return back because there are talks sent to their Nation & that it is convenient they should hear them

"Should you be informed that the Chicacha King is in the Chacta Nation, you will either deliver to him his letter or send it. If you see him you will open the subject & prevail upon him to go to his Nation to join the mind of the people for the common welfare of the whole.["]

In case the Chicacha King is in his Nation you will proceed to it & after delivering my letters to the said King, Payemingo, Ugulayacabe, Hardy Perry & Benjamin Fooy to whom I acquaint that you are the Bearer of my talk, You will immediately call an Assembly of the Chiefs & hold to them the following discourse.

"It is a long time that the peace of mind of the Red people is disturbed, even so as to make them mistrust their own shadow; Why should you not examine the cause of this mistrust? It certainly is because the Red people are divided among them selves, they do not consult one an other & talk about their interest: instead of that they hide from one an other what they think, or what they have been told by some person whose interest led him to tell stories some times to get protection from the Indians for some bad thing that he did elsewhere, and very often they may let him stay in the Nation untill he has an oportunity to steal horses or some other thing & then run away leaving the good Indians both without their property, & confused with the stories he told

"You see the consequence more plainly now, the hostilities comited both by the Creeks & you against one an other has no other motive than this very mistrust that has led into error some of each Nation & if the people of sense do not try to put a stop to such conduct a general War will take place & the consequence will be the destruction of both, for whilest you are engaged in revenging yourselves one of an other, some other Enemy may take advantage of your desunion & do you more harm than the one that is in open War

"These troubles will have no end if some thing is not done now to prevent further destruction, the vail of revenge is before your eyes in such manner that you can not see your interest & the hoop of war does not let you hear the voice of truth from one an other. Therefore your Father, your Friend, & your Brother the Governor of Natchez sends me here to inform you that he sees with pity his Red People at War & under other troubles present & to come; that this is the moment he intends to show you his kindness & that if you harken to him he will reestablish peace & everlasting happiness among you. That for this purpose the Governor General of this Province has given him all his power to do in this business all that shall be necessary.

"Say that you want to be happy & the Governor of Natchez will make you happy, but you must hear his advise, his advise will not be to spill blood, on the contrary with his advise all the heavey Clouds will be dispersed, the Sky will appear again clear & bright & the paths will be as white as snow & all the Neighbouring Indians will go into one an other's Land with as much safety as if they were in sight of his own Cabin.

"The Governor of Natchez for this purpose proposes to have a meeting of the principal Chiefs of the Cherokee, Chicacha, Chacta & Creeks at the Ball ground on the Yazu. He chuses this place because it is nigh his Land & because he can carry there provisions for them. He does not call the said Chiefs to look at them only; it is to give them good advise & to agree with them upon a Plan or Method for keeping peace among the Indians & that the presents that they receive from us may be delivered to each Nation in their own Land or nigh it that they may not have so far to go to receive them; because by going to New Orleans they loose time & very often loose their lives; the roads being long they are obliged to give away their presents for provision on the way, so that when they get home, they have lost three months in which they have neglected their Crops & their hunt & when they look about themselves they see nothing of the presents that were given to them. Besides that by the method the Governor intends they shall be supplied with what they want most & not with triffles that are of very little use to them.

"By the same method the talks will be convayed into every Nation & every Nation will send theirs, so that every thing will go right & straight.

"This is the most important business that ever has been done for the Red people; therefore every one must assist the Governor of Natchez for that purpose & the Chiefs of every Nation not fail in meeting him at the Ball ground.

"The Governor of Natchez has chosen that Place as it has been said, because being nigh his Land he can send provisions there & it is much about the center of the four Nations, that are to meet, therefore it will be most convenient for every one.

"As notice must be given of this intention to the four Nations mentioned it is necessary to give time for the talk to go round, that all may meet in the Ball ground, if possible in the same day. That day, the Governor has apointed to be the last day of the month of June next, that him self will be at the Ball ground.

"This meeting is for the good of every Man of the four Nations mentioned, therefore you must not expect that you are called to receive great presents; however the Governor will have some thing to give among his friends & they shall have plenty of Provisions for the Chiefs & a few attendants of whom the Assembly is to be composed of.

"From the day that this talk is given make a bundle of Stiks with as many as days are wanting untill the day of the meeting, that the last may [be] thron away when you arrive at the Ball Ground.

"As the hostilities begun between the Creeks & you are a very great evel, you must call your Wariors at home & stop hurting one an other that in the Assembly every thing may be well explained & settled. The same talk is sent to the Creek Nations[;] the Governor of New Orleans has already reproache[d] the Creeks for their behavior so that it is very natural that they will not return again to the Chicacha Nation with bad intention.["]

This is the sense of the talk, which you will deliver in the manner that your experience has learned you, so as to have more efect in the minds of the Indians & you will add every thing that you may consider necessary for the good success of the business.

You must settle as an affair of your own, the new establishement of your Store in the place apointed in the manner that we have concerted.

As soon as you have held your Assembly you will acquaint me with the results that I may be able to judge of the success of the measures I have taken.

Mr. Fooy is our Interpreter & I have confidence on his conduct, therefore I recomend to you that you may distinguish & consider him in this business as far as you may think convenient; My principal relyance is on your exertions & conduct.

I tell Mr. Fooy that you will acquaint him with our plan, try to gain his confidence so he may not be jealous of your acting for me; you know that Men have their feelings & I wish to content every body & I know that you have the same way of thinking.

Enclose you have letters for Mr. Delavillebeuvre for the Chicacha King, Payemingo, Ugulayacabe, Benjamin Fooy, Hardy Perry & for Bloody Fellow of the Cherokee Nation. These letters you will deliver or forward as soon as possible that the Assembly may take place by the time appointed

I renew to you the assurances of the sincere friendship of = Your most humble Servt. = Manuel Gayoso de Lemos = Natchez 7th. April 1793 = Mr. John Turnbull —

[Translation]

This is the same as the original Letter which was sent to the Interested party, a copy of which is placed in the Archives of the Secretariat of the Government under my charge. I certify this in Natchez on April 11, 1793.

Joseph Vidal[45]

GAYOSO TO THE KING OF THE CHICKASAW NATION, NATCHEZ, APRIL 7, 1793[46]

Copia

No. 2

My Dear Friend and Brother Tascaotupa King of the Chicacha Nation = It is a very long time ago that I have not had the pleasure of seeing you, but now for the wellfare of your Nation, and of the Neighbouring ones our Allies, I am determined to appoint an Assembly at the Ball ground for the last day of June next where I expect to meet the principal Chiefs of your Nation and those of the Chactaws, Cherokees, and Creeks. I have commissioned Mr. Turnbull to give my talk in your Nation; he will inform you particularly of every thing therefore give credit to every thing he says

The Governor of New Orleans has taken proper steps to stop the bad proceeding of the Creeks, and in our Assembly we will settle all the dificulties between your Nation and them.

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[45] A similar note in Spanish is appended to all the other letters. Joseph Vidal was secretary to the governor of Natchez.

[46] A.G.I., P.C., 2353.

For the present I will not say more than that I have wrote to Mr. Delavillebeuvre about some thing that he told me concerning you.

Mr. Turnbull will tell you the rest and I remain = Your true Friend and Brother = Manuel Gayoso deLemos = Natchez 7th. April 1793.

GAYOSO TO PIOMINGO, NATCHEZ, APRIL 7, 1793[47]

Copia

No. 3

My Friend & Brother Paye mingo =

I expected long a go to see you but I am informed of the reasons that have Stoped your voyage & am sorry to hear that a triffling misunderstanding Should produce so bad consequences. However some friend must interfer & that shall be me. Mr. Turnbull will inform you of all my plan he has my instructions to give a talk in your Nation therefore I beg you will believe all that he says from me.

As I propose to hold an Assembly at the Ball ground I do not require that you should come here now as I expect to see you at the Assembly & there establish a lasting friendship between us; for the present Mr. Turnbull will give you his hand for me press it vary hard for I am truely your Friend that wisshes the moment of seeing you = From your Friend and Brother = Manuel Gayoso de Lemos = Natchez 7th. April 1793 =

[Translation]

GAYOSO TO OGOULAYACABÉ, NATCHEZ, APRIL 7, 1793[48]

Copy No. 4.

Gayoso to Ugulayacabe =

Mr. Turnbull is charged with a talk from me to your Nation about a great many things for the general good of all the Indian Nations our Friends; believe every thing he tells you from me & assist him with your friendship. You are acquainted with my way of thinking, therefore you will not doubt of my good intentions.

As I expect to see you at the Ball Ground I say no more for the present & only renew to you the assurances of my sincere friendship = I remain Your Friend & Brother = Natchez 7th April = Manuel Gayoso de Lemos

GAYOSO TO FOOY, NATCHEZ, APRIL 7, 1793[49]

Copia

N. 5

Sir = I have had no sure opportunity to wrrite to you ever since I received your last from Bayou Pierre. Ugulayacabe has partly misunderstood what I told him according to what you informed me however Mr. Turnbull is now going to the Nation & he will explain matters as they are; for that purpose he is to Call an Assembly to acquaint the Nation with my intentions & by that means every thing will be clear & right. I told Mr. Turnbull of the regard that I have for you & recomended to him to show you all the esteem possible you are acquainted with him & Know that he is a very good Man. His situation in life puts it out of his wishes to hurt your merit. he goes on his bussiness & at the same time will

[47] *Ibid.*
[48] *Ibid.*
[49] *Ibid.*

give my talk & Know that it will be well received from him as he is very much esteemed by all the Nation, therefore mind to join him & exert your self in this business you have untill now fulfilled my expectations: this is the moment to crown your good conduct & to deserve the recompense towards which you have already worked so much.

Inform me very particularly what is the cause of the misunderstanding between the Chicachas & the Creeks & what is their intention with regard of Carrying on the War or not. I intend to try to put an end to it by reconciling Paye Mingo with the King. The Governor General on his side is doing his utmost with the Creeks for this division would destroy the two Nations & as they are both our Allies we look upon them as Brothers & we Can not see with indifference two Brothers quarel therefore we must make this Peace.

Mr. Turnbull will acquaint you with my intentions & I have no more to add than to repeat that this is the moment that I expect to see your exertions.

Nothing new here I have not heard from Mr. De la Villebeuvre this long while. Do not neglect to inform me of every news of the Indian Nations & of their Neighbours if you know any. = I remain with esteem = Sir. = Your most humble Servt. Manuel Gayoso de Lemos = Natchez 7th. April 1793. = Mr. Benjamin Fooy

GAYOSO TO PERRY, NATCHEZ, APRIL 7, 1793[50]

Copia
No. 6

Sir = Mr. Turnbull will inform you of the talk I send by him to the Chicacha Nation. My principal object is to bring a reconciliation between them & the Creeks for if some good friend does not make it his business to put a stop to the first disturbances, the consequences will be distressing to both Nations. Besides it is long a go that there has not been an Assembly of Chiefs of the Neighbouring Indian Nations in the presence of a Spanish Governor. I have several things to propose for the good of the red people & particularly to fix a method of giving the presents every year in the borders of each Nation, by which means they will profit more by them; at the same time we will agree about the manner of sending talks to one an other.

I expect you will assist Mr. Turnbull with your good offices for the welfare of all the Nation, especially by reconciling Paye-Mingo with the King & lastly to cause a suspension of hostilities with the Creeks that in our Assembly we will concert matters so as to make them good friend.

Ugulayacabe got a horse from Richards for you, but I am sorry that you did not find it so as you expected. As I expect to see you at the Assembly I shall then give you a good account of your other business = I remain with the greatest esteem = Sir = Your Humble Servt. = Manuel Gayoso deLemos = Natchez 7th. April 1793 = Mr. Hardy Perry.

GAYOSO TO BLOODY FELLOW, NATCHEZ, APRIL 7, 1793[51]

Copia
No. 7.

My Dear Friend Bloody Fellow = Ever since I had the pleasure of seeing you I have always had a regard for you & for your Nation, I have remembered very often what we spoke over & it is now with the greatest pleasure that I acquaint

[50] *Ibid.*
[51] *Ibid.*

you that the last day of June I shall have an Assembly of the principal Chiefs of the Chicachas, Chactas, Creeks & of your Nation nigh the mouth of the Yazou in a place called the Ball Ground. We are to treat there great many things for the good of all the Indian Nations our friends & Allies.

This is to give you notice of that meeting that I expect to see you there with as many Chiefs of your Nation as will come & likewise I rely on your bringing along with you some people of the Northern Nations that they may be Wittnessess of my way of thinking & of the protection our Great King gives to all the Indians.

Do not fail to be at the Yazou with the other Chiefs of your Nation; bring some body with you that understands English, French, or Spanish to be an Interpreter for your Language for I understand them all. I repeat to you not to fail & to bring Deputies from the Northern Tribes. My talk will please every one even the Americans; I am determined to make you all happy therefore depend on me, you know my caracter, I am not a Man that seems one to day and an other to morow.

I saw your Son in New Orleans, he is well: bring some other if you please & depend that I am your true Friend.

Give my Compliments to Taylor[52] & to all your Nation. I remain with the greatest regard & esteem = My dear Friend = Your most humble Servt = Manuel Gayoso deLemos = Natchez 7th. April 1793.

GLOVER TO VILLEBEUVRE, CHICKASAWS, APRIL 8, 1793[53]

Chekesaws the 8 of April 1793

Fren & Brother

I thought my father had been dead a long time, but I have found that I have a father alive Who has Sent me Some Gun Locks, Which pleases me Well I am much Oblige to you for the fatherly Advise you Send me in regard to make a peace With the Red people like my Self. but I dont kno how to give Any more good talks however in being at a differense With red people like Our Selfes does not hinder us nor Stop the friendship We have for you As I first Saw the Commendant at the Illenois who Used me As a father & I have Continued as a Son Ever since, for Our parts we never new [knew] or thought of killing people to Eat but to use his Ammunition in killing of dear & game to Support life but the Creek Indians has used their amunition in killing of us

from your Brother
Wm Glover

To Mr.
Lavillebeuvre
Coppee

TASKIHATOKA TO VILLEBEUVRE, CHICKSAWS, APRIL 8, 1793[54]

Chekesaws the 8 April 1793

Dear Brother

I Recieved your letter Wich I Recieve as a Brotherley talk but I hope you hant for got the time that I tolk to the Creeks at your house and gave them beads

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[52] Chief Richard Taylor. See *Publications* No. 29, p. 150n.

[53] A.G.I., P.C., 208. The mestizo chief William Glover had a Spanish captain's commission. His Indian name was Olacta opaye. See Villebeuvre to Carondelet, April 28, 1793 (transcript in McClung Collection).

[54] A.G.I., P.C., 208.

and adviced them not to be Cumming amongst us to Sarch White people. but I was told that they Went from thear and kild one before they Went home When I was last at Orleans to Se my great father I Saw Sum creeks there my talk was all for peas [peace] & frind Ship and ever has been but it Seems that they have paid but little attention to it, as for my part I am quite tierd of it I have tried so long at it that I Shall Give my Self no further truble about it I Received your tolks wich I luck [look] on them as from a Brother but I have Strove for pease Solong that I Shall Strive no longer we are a Nation that has Stood the Blunt of a great many Ennemes and we Can but trie it a gain —

Thear was Sum Shonneys Indians[55] in hear the Other day that tels us that the Creeks has Sent a talk to them to Gine them to Cut of our Nation but they have not Recieved it and has Brought a friendley talk to us

Our farther has been so Good as to Send us provisions which we Shall be very thankfull for but I wish you Could Send it up the yasow, I hold you by the hand till deth partts us

Tuskeasokamingo

My Brother
Mr Lavillebeuvre
Coppee

[Translation]

MILFORD TO CARONDELET, TUCKABATCHEE, APRIL 9, 1793[56]

Tuquebachet April 9, 1793
Sir

Your excellency will allow me to communicate to you that we held a Great Council of the Nation. It ended on the 7th of the present month. I was much embarrassed to know how to serve the king. I was obliged to take the consequences upon myself and have told them that you told me to tell them the following.

The Great Governor at New Orleans has written me to tell you not to have any dispute with the Americans and that it is also necessary to be on your guard and not agree to mark any boundaries, that the said Americans have sent two of their principal officers to the home of their father the Great King of Spain, and that the Great King will make an effort to have their land returned to them or at least a part of it, and that if the Americans do not want to define the boundary your father the Great King would make war on them with troops and vessels and oblige them to obey him, and that you are to be ready to fight here or to receive news of a peace.

He has told me also to say to you that he did his best to keep you from desiring war with the Chickasaws, but that he saw that this was not possible because it was red men against red men. He has written to the king's officers in the Choctaws to tell them not to intervene in your dispute and that he hoped that you would remain friends. He wrote me to tell you also not to do any wrong to the Choctaws, but to give them the hand and as brothers be friends together, and that the red men should in their own interests hold hands and unite to defend themselves in case their father the Great King needs them to help defend their land, that if any of your young warriors are going to Tensaw

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[55] There was a Shawnee mission among the Cherokees and Creeks at this time. Cotterill, *The Southern Indians*, 100-03.

[56] A.G.I., P.C., 208. Louis le Clerc Milford (or Milfort), McGillivray's brother-in-law, hoped to succeed the latter. He was "general" or war chief at the time.

or to Tombigbee you should recommend to them not to do any harm to the inhabitants, since they are Spanish subjects, and the young warriors can say that they are searching for their enemies and had been obliged to kill some Animals, that if they do not the Great King will be angry with them and demand of the Chiefs that they be punished.

There is a famine and the Americans have told them to go to St. Marys where there is a store full of corn. Those that went report that the store was opened to them so they could take what they wanted, and they were told to tell the others to come.

The Americans spare no trouble or gifts to win the Chiefs and by their generous gifts of food will save thousands of Indians and in this way build up a strong party in their favor. St. Marys is very far and Pensacola is very near to this nation. Be that as it may, I will not take the liberty of telling your Excellency what a person in your position should do. A party of our warriors will start on the 18 instant to go to the Chickasaws.[57]

The Chickasaws have made for themselves a sort of stockade, that they call a fort, in the middle of a great prairie.

They have a great number of Cattle and I have recommended to the Chiefs of the [illegible] that they eat their animals and to force them to surrender or die of hunger. I recommend to them that in case of surrender to take the women and children prisoners.

And even if they surrender unconditionally they should only kill the group of the Mountain Leader since the others always said that they wanted to stay friends with the Creeks. There is still no news from Mr. Oliver.

I am Your Excellencys very humble and very obedient Servant

Milford

Monsieur the Baron de Carondelet

PANTON TO CARONDELET, PENSACOLA, APRIL 10, 1793[58]

Pensacola 10th April 179[3]

Much Esteemed Sir

Inclosed I send Your Excellency a duplicate of a letter which I received last night from Mr. McDonald,[59] of the Cherokees ———

I received accounts by way of the upper Creeks of Some depredations Committed by the people belonging to the Indian Village Named the Chehaws, on Seagroves property at Saint Marys, Whoes [whose] Stores they robbed (it is said) and afterwards set fire to the buildings—His Brother Robert Seagrove, and five others, was killed—I suspect this account is exaggerated[60] as from Appalachy I only heard of one Man that was killed and he in retaliation for an Indian killed last Summer by the Georgians of that district . . .

Wm. Panton

His Excy the Baron deCarondelet

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[57] According to Milford to Carondelet, May 28, 1793, the army of 1200 started on May 16, but was called back by special messenger on May 20, 1793, when a peace message (dated March 25) arrived from the Governor via Panton. Kinnaird (ed.), *Spain in the Miss. Valley,* III, 160-62.

[58] A.G.I., P.C., 203.

[59] Probably McDonald to Panton, February 6, 1793, printed in *Publications,* No. 29, pp. 150-51.

[60] The report proved to be true. See Cotterill, *The Southern Indians,* 102-03, and Panton to Leslie, August 28, 1793, in Caughey, *McGillivray,* 359.

[Translation]

GAYOSO TO CARONDELET, NATCHEZ, APRIL 11, 1793[61]

No. 1.

About the Assembly of Indians on the Yazoo.

When I left that Capital I expected to meet Chief Piomingo of the Chickasaw Nation or find him here on my arrival, but this is not the case, for up to the present I have had no news of him, and I imagine that the reason for his failure to come is the difference that has arisen between his Nation and the Creeks, for they have already begun hostilities on one another, although I received news today that a principal chief of the Chickasaw Nation with a large party of warriors will arrive here by water today or tomorrow and I presume it is Chief Piomingo.

Since Your Lordship's commission charges me with holding an Assembly of the chiefs of our allied Indian Nations, it is of such importance that I began working on the matter with John Turnbull when he passed here on his way to his house in Baton Rouge. Because of previous conferences with Your Lordship and with me this individual was disposed to use all his influence toward the ends suggested. During the time he was in Baton Rouge he agreed with me that, as soon as the boat he expected arrived from the Capital, he would start on the journey in order to be there at the same time as Piomingo, whom he had learned was awaiting him. He kept his promise and arrived here on the 6th of this month, and since Piomingo was not here, I discussed with him the questions that ought to be treated in the Assembly, and in order not to delay his boat I agreed with him that he should go to the Chickasaw Nation and in my name do what is outlined in the enclosed instruction number 1, taking with him the credentials I gave him for the Chickasaw King, for Piomingo, and for Ogoulayacabe, copies of which are enclosed under numbers 2, 3, and 4, and also for Benjamin Fooy and Hardy Perry, which I enclose under numbers 5 and 6, charging him that as soon as he saw that things were favorably disposed in that Nation to forward with all possible security and speed a letter I gave him for Bloody Fellow of the Cherokee Nation, a copy of which is enclosed under number 7.[62]

He was also charged with a package of letters for the Choctaw Nation which he was to deliver on passing near it or send the package by a safe route to Lieutenant Colonel Juan de la Villebeuvre, the contents of which are found in copy number 8 and in a letter to Franchimastabe indicated in number 9.[63]

From this correspondence Your Lordship will learn of the measures I have taken to convoke the Assembly at the Ball Ground on the Yazoo on the last day of June next.

I have set this date because it would be impossible to circulate notices in a shorter time and allow time for those to arrive who should attend the meeting; furthermore, this will give sufficient time after the recent death of McGillivray for Your Lordship to arrange in the Creek Nation what you think most convenient so as to put at its head the chief who is most suitable, and even allow time to treat with him in New Orleans before going to the meeting, a matter that is not of the least importance being that of using this occasion to negotiate a suspension of hostilities between the Creeks and the Chickasaws, for without

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[61] A.G.I., P.C., 2373.

[62] See above for letters that Gayoso enclosed under numbers 1 to 7.

[63] Numbers 8 and 9 were not available.

this neither will attend the Assembly, and even if they decided to do so it would be at the risk of disorder capable of destroying all possible good we can hope to reap from the meeting of our Indian Allies.

I will take advantage of any occasions that offer, and even promote some, that I consider necessary to pacify the Chickasaws and Choctaws, toward the Creeks, trusting to obtain the peace which I believe is of greatest importance for getting all the Indians dependent on us to form a confederacy.

I hope that Your Lordship will approve the things I have recounted, and beg that as a result of these efforts to convoke the Assembly of the chiefs of the Choctaw, Chickasaw, and Cherokee Nations and deputies of the Nations to the North, Your Lordship will be pleased to command that notices be sent to the Creek Nation to persuade that people to participate, with the understanding that they must first suspend hostilities and go to the Assembly with pacific intentions.

For the purposes of clarity I shall number the letters connected with the said Assembly from number 1 through the last, which will carry the number that corresponds to my general correspondence, so that this letter will be expediente No. 1.

May God keep Your Lordship many years, Natchez, April 11, 1793.

Manuel Gayoso de Lemos

Señor Baron de Carondelet.

A GOOD TEMPLARS "JOURNAL"

Edited by GRACE LEAB AND CHARLES Z. ROETTGER

Because of physical hardships and numerous political difficulties, the people of Tennessee during the Civil War period gave little attention to social reform. Even so, at least two temperance organizations—the Sons of Temperance, founded in the state in 1846, and the Cadets of Temperance—survived the conflict.[1] After the war, however, the people were able to turn their attention to movements of social significance; consequently, after 1870 temperance activities increased in both number and importance.

The Grand Lodge of the International Order of Good Templars was founded in Utica, New York, in 1861. The organization advocated total abstinence on the part of the individual and absolute prohibition brought about through legislation.[2] When an Order was established in Tennessee is not known, but in October, 1869, the Tennessee Grand Lodge of Good Templars held a convention in Nashville,[3] and in 1870 the *Republican Banner* of Nashville became its official organ.[4] The Lodge made plans to hold a large state convention in Chattanooga in January, 1871.[5] The following year the convention was held in Nashville, the only city in the state with adequate hotel accommodations for the large number of delegates.[6] At the Nashville convention it was reported that within the preceding year one hundred new lodges, embracing over four thousand members, had been organized.[7] In 1873 the Order had 194 lodges and 7,534 members By October, 1874, the number of lodges had increased to 297.[8] In that year the Good Templars replaced the Sons of Temperance, which had enjoyed outstanding growth from 1870 to 1873, as the leading temperance organization in the state. Especially in East Tennessee did the Order grow rapidly;[9]

[1] It is not known when the Good Templars were organized in Tennessee.
[2] D. Leigh Colvin, *A History of the Prohibition Party and the Prohibition Movement* (New York, 1926), 61-62.
[3] Nashville *Republican Banner,* October 21, 1869.
[4] *Ibid.,* July 20, 1870.
[5] Knoxville *Daily Chronicle,* December 20, 1870.
[6] Nashville *Republican Banner,* August 22, 1872.
[7] *Ibid.,* September 22, 1872.
[8] *Ibid.,* October 21, 1873, October 20, 1874.
[9] *Ibid.,* March 30, 1872.

in Athens its work was so effective that three of the four barrooms in the city closed.[10] The Templars sponsored numerous lectures which were often followed by the signing of pledges and the organization of new lodges;[11] they were also known for their effective work among the Negroes in the State.[12] By 1875 a few lodges of Juvenile Templars had been organized, and many appeals for encouraging temperance among children were made.

Individual Templars prided themselves on being total abstainers. On one occasion after a Knoxville baseball team had defeated a Greeneville team, a member of the defeated nine suggested that they could not be beaten at drinking whiskey. To this challenge one of the Knoxville team replied that they were Good Templars and did not indulge.[13]

The Order of Good Templars, as well as the Sons of Temperance, declined in Tennessee after 1883. Apparently the membership was absorbed by the new temperance organizations—the Temperance Alliance, the Prohibition party, and the Local Option League.

In the 1870's the Good Templars exerted their influence upon the members of the General Assembly for the passage of various temperance measures. They especially favored local option because it was democratic and anti-coercive in principle and because it gave citizens the right of self-protection.[14] The drive for local option began in the state in 1870 when a group of citizens appealed to the members of the constitutional convention to incorporate the principle in the new constitution, but an amendment providing for it failed by a vote of 29 to 28, and the convention refused to reconsider the defeated measure.[15] In 1873 a local option bill passed both the senate and the house, but it was vetoed by Governor John C. Brown, who believed that it had not been legally passed.[16] In 1875 a local option bill was passed in the senate but was lost in the house,[17] while in 1879 a similar measure was again defeated in the house.[18] From 1880 to 1882 the agitation for local

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[10] *Ibid.*, January 7, 1875.
[11] Knoxville *Weekly Whig and Chronicle,* January 19, 1876.
[12] Knoxville *Weekly Chronicle,* October 29, 1873; Nashville *Daily American,* October 24, 1877.
[13] Knoxville *Weekly Whig and Chronicle,* June 2, 1875.
[14] Nashville *Daily American,* October 20, 1875.
[15] Nashville *Republican Banner,* February 2, 13, 15, 17, 1870.
[16] Tennessee *Senate Journal,* 1873, pp. 384, 456-65; Tennessee *House Journal,* 1873, pp. 437-38, 209, 228, 414.
[17] *Senate Journal,* 1875, pp. 563-64; *House Journal,* 1875, p. 715.
[18] *House Journal,* 1879, p. 782.

option was unusually strong in the state, but even so, a local option bill failed to pass in 1881.[19] After 1883 local option agitation declined. It is significant that during the decade of the seventies when the Good Templars were at their maximum strength in Tennessee, the agitation for local option reached its greatest intensity.

The Good Templars worked earnestly for the passage of the Four Mile Law of 1877. This legislation, general in nature, made the dispensing of an intoxicating beverage within four miles of any incorporated institution of learning illegal. Although the provisions of this bill did not apply to sales within incorporated towns or to sales by persons holding an unexpired license or to wholesalers,[20] this Four Mile Law was a significant piece of temperance legislation because it brought local prohibition to numerous rural areas over the state and because its gradual extension completely drove the saloons from Tennessee thirty-two years later.

The following issue of "The Templar Journal" is an illustration of "temperance journalism," a major activity of the temperance groups of the period. Apparently the purposes of this issue, as were the purposes of much of the writing by the temperance leaders, were to extol the basic Christian virtues and to build public sentiment for the temperance cause through stories, such as the one about Walter Manley, revealing the evils of intemperance and the benefits of abstinence. It also appears to have been designed to provide entertainment for the readers and to boost the village of Thorn Grove, at which Carter Lodge 535 was located. It, therefore, is an item of some interest in local history, since it supplies detailed information about this small community, located near the edge of Knox County about fifteen miles from Knoxville, as it was in 1879.

According to the unpublished Original Returns of the United States Census for 1880, it had a population of about 150. Seven years later, according to the *Tennessee State Gazetteer,* 1887, its population was 200. Joseph Davis, a mill wright and the editor of this "Journal," had become postmaster, dispensing a daily mail service. The town's "shipping point" was Strawberry Plains, a station on the East Tennessee, Virginia and Georgia Railroad, located about five miles distant,

[19] *Ibid.,* 1881, pp. 534, 753.
[20] *Acts of the General Assembly of the State of Tennessee,* 1877, p. 37.

across the county line in Jefferson County. As a result of the arrival of the automobile age, Thorn Grove eventually lost its separate identity as a town and became a part of Knoxville's metropolitan area, with a mailing address of Thorngrove Pike, Knoxville.[21]

The original manuscript of this "Journal," which seems to have been distributed in handwritten form, is in the possession of Miss Mariana Davis of Knoxville, a great-granddaughter of Joseph Davis, the editor. A microcopy is in the University of Tennessee Library. Spelling and punctuation have been left unchanged.

[21] The census returns (on microfilm in the University of Tennessee and Lawson McGhee libraries, Knoxville), and the *Tennessee State Gazetteer and Business Directory,* 1887 (Nashville, 1887), were checked by Charles Z. Roettger, and he supplied from these sources the information for the remaining footnotes, identifying Thorn Grove people. He also consulted in the Office of the Register of Deeds of Knox County (Courthouse, Knoxville) a map of Knox County published in 1895, showing the locations of the homes, etc., as they were at that time. The growth of the community in the intervening years had been largely in the center of the town.

THE TEMPLARS JOURNAL.

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Jos. Davis, Ed.)
Dr. J.B.F. Dice,[23] Asst. Ed.) July 1879.
)

Terms, and rates of advertizing, same as those announced in our June number.

James W. Smith,[24] wishes to call the attention of all, to the fact that he is able to Grind all kinds of corn-meal, and solicits a liberal patronage.

Sister Warren,[25] is prepared to weave all kind of Linseys Jeans carpets &c. Office and workshop in Rutherford's Drug-Store.

Edward R. Pilant,[26] would take this method of informing the Young Ladies generally, that he is, as ever, a candidate for, well,—for matrimony, of course.

B. F. McCarty[27] says, he thinks Dr. Dice has very little to do, or he wouldent be calling at Cokers[28] so often, when none of them are sick.

Harriet Griffin,[29] says "I do wonder why Mr. John M. Smith,[30] dont come on, and be initiated?" And, 'then" she says "Maybe it wouldent do me any good, for I saw him looking at Jane"

We value every thing according to what it costs us. If a young man by dint of hard labor is successful in gaining money or property, he is more likely to retain it, than if it had been bestowed upon him by some friend, gratuitously.

Backbiting

(Communicated)

I hope no one will take offence at my subject, or think me too inconsiderate in my talk. I think it is a habit we all fall into unthoughtedly, and is not only a "habit," but a very bad one.

What a pleasant world this would be to live in if there were no backbiters; but there are, and ever will be, and this makes things very disagreeable, at times. Some people; (I dont say they are in this house, but if they are, and the shoe fits, wear it, my friend, it don't cost anything if it is a No. 9) I say some people, judging from their actions, and words, think they are set apart, and called upon to express themselves freely, at all times, in all places, and upon all subjects, and think they are not as polite as they should be, if they do not go a little beyond anything that has been said; especially if anyones name is brought into disrepute.

[22] International Order of Good Templars.

[23] He is not listed in the 1880 census. Instead, James W. Sisk is listed as a physician, but by 1887 he had departed and had been succeeded by Doctors A. S. Elder and J. S. Lamb.

[24] A carpenter, who apparently also engaged in milling.

[25] Elizabeth Warren, wife of Charles Warren, a farmer.

[26] A farmer.

[27] Benjamin F. McCarty, a laborer. There were about twenty young men listed in 1880 as laborers—probably agricultural laborers.

[28] Fanie (or Fannie) Coker was a widow, 87 years old. There was a Jane Smith, 34 years of age, in the household who was the most likely candidate for the Doctor's affections.

[29] A daughter of Sarah Griffin.

[30] A laborer.

It may be of their best friend, but that does not matter, in his or her absence, since some people say they have faults. They will magnify them, until you would think there was scarcely any good in them, and perhaps the first time they meet them, they will salute them with a kiss.

Now, I think there are some clever backbiters, and they do, and say such things more to keep up the conversation, than anything else. If they would only think twice, and speak once, the world might not know all the short comings of their friends, and be better for all concerned.

What need it matter to us what other people do, think or say, if we, ourselves walk "in the light," perhaps in passing through life our shadows may fall on some poor erring mortal and cause them to look for the "light" and follow it.

We all love to think of a loving, kind and warm hearted friend, one that will sympathize with us, and one that loves everybody, and seems blind to all their faults. And then why not imitate such characters, and be gentle and loving? Why not

"Let love through all our actions run,
And all our words be mild?" Simply because we have fallen into this bad habit, and it grows and grows upon us until we do not think it wrong, at all.

I.C.D.

Jo. Warren[31] says, "one more year with squire Callen[32] will set me all right" that is if I can only get Jane to wait."

Some of the Doctors friends say he has gained ten or twelve pounds since he has moved his boarding house—perhaps he dont set up so late of nights, chatting the girls, and gets more sleep.

EARNESTNESS. (COMMUNICATED)

Earnestness is a spirit that displays itself in an ardent and eager desire for the accomplishment of any undertaking. With this spirit prompting us to action, our work changes from an irksome task, to one of pleasure and delight. With it our work is done rapidly and with ease, and without the sensation of fatigue with which we would otherwise be affected.

Our power to influence others depends, to a wonderful extent on the earnestness which we display. By this we elicit the sympathy of all with whom we come in contact, in our cause. Having gained the sympathies of men, we have reached the great spring of human action. We have attained the point—where we can convince men of the justice and rectitude of our cause; and where we can inspire them with the same feelings and sentiments which characterize our actions. The Divine injunction "Whatever your hand findeth to do, do it with your might" is only a command to let earnestness pervade our every act. If it is true, that earnestness makes labor delightful, easy, and lessens its fatigue; and gives us the power of engaging the sympathies of others in our cause; and gives us the ability to control the actions of our fellowmen, and the power of convincing and

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[31] Joseph Warren, son of John O. Warren.

[32] Andrew Callen, a farmer of considerable wealth, whose son and two daughters, ages 27, 23, and 17, were at school. Since he was called Squire, he must have served as justice of the peace.

of inspiring them with the same sentiments and feelings that throb in our own breasts, then, by all means we should be earnest. If we are earnest, in everything we attempt, success is our's.

C.M.G.

Thorn Grove

Perhaps no town in this end of the state is more favorably known abroad, and less known at home, than is Thorn Grove.

On entering the town from the west, you come in sight just at the line that bounds the western side of Esqr. Callen's farm. On your right you will see his fine fields of Wheat, Oats, and Corn spread out before you, assuming the appearance of a valley. On your left are his oats, pasture fields orchards dwellings &c, all beautifully situated. The Stranger coming into our town would think that he had certainly entered at the "Big End," but before advacing very far, he discovers, that these were only a foretaste of the good things to come. Soon he is near the residence of Jos Davis, which next attracts his attention, his orchards garden and "truck patches" are all in a very fair way to remurate him for the labor bestowed on them. There is nothing very striking about the appearance of his house, only that the back bone of his Portico seems to have been pulled out and let the roof in. His cowstable is will situated only that the back side is put in front. Just opposite is the large farm known as the Rutherford farm. The buildings Water cove orchards corn and pasture fields all appear in full view. The building known as Rutherfords Drug Store is occupyed by Mrs Warren, where she keeps on hand many of the useful medicinal herbs—such as Boneset-Pennyroyal &c. She has converted the counting room into a weaving factory where she weaves Lensey—Jeans—and Rag carpets. Passing the cowstable above mentiond you will behold on your right the fields of Mrs Derieux[33] which are at present coverd with a fine crop of Oats and Corn. Before you are aware you have reached the residence of P. L. Derieux, a fine new building in the west end of a beautiful wheat field. As you pass the wheat field you near the risidence of the Late Peter Derieux, now, the residence of his widow Mrs Derieux. The Blacksmith shop of Mr John Morton will next greet the eye, but as Mr Morton is absent, the shop is inactive. We are now in front of the large Mecantile house of T. A. Smith,[34] Esqr where he keeps constantly on hand a good stock of Dry goods and Groceries, such as Domestic Muslin, calico and bedticking—Sugar Coffee sorghum &c. He also keeps on hand Boots—shoes—Pitchers plates and tea cups. just in the rear of the store house is a neat cottage, now occupyed by our Worthy R. S. Jesse Dereiux.[35] To the right opposite the store house, may be seen the residence of Mr. James D. Smith,[36]—having very recently come among us, we sincerely wish him well. Just to your left a little ahead you will see the splendid building known as the "Parsonage" unoccupyed at present. To your right you will see the fine shops of Mr W D. Brown,[37] which are now occupyed as a carriage house by the proprietor. You are now just getting into the "city proper" or "town proper" if you please, and the houses appear so fast that you will miss of seeing some of

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[33] Sarah Derieux, widow of Peter L. Derieux.

[34] Thomas A. Smith, a merchant.

[35] Jesse (spelled Jessee in census) Derieux, a laborer. Probably, R. S. stands for Recording Secretary (of the Lodge).

[36] A laborer.

[37] William D. Brown, a dry goods merchant and apparently also the postmaster of Thorn Grove.

them unless you are constantly on your watch. There is the residence of Mr. W. B. Smith [—] Browns old store house—his cistern house—his dwelling house —his New store house Mr. Bunches[38] residence the Whitle and Murcheson house —Mr Brown Granary. Mrs Evens[39] residence, the Christian church. and Mr Smith's residence. Mr Browns store like Esqr. Smiths is well filled with a rich variety of everything in the goods line. The Post Office is kept here too, where you can get your letters and news papers. You will now pass through the farm owned by Mr. J. A. Brooks,[40] which stretches out on either side to a considerable distance, on approaching his residence, you will perceives that the back end of his Kitchen is turned to the front. You next find yourself between the old store house, and the shops.—The shops are now occupyed by Huffaker & Bro.[41] whose residence may be seen to the left on the hill. Also the residence of Mr. Russell. Now if you let you[r] eye fall a little looking nearly eastward you will see the *"big spring,"* around which was once a beautiful hill slope, which is all gone now, but the rocks. Passing on you have the Barber[42] property on your right and Mrs Allens[43] residence on your left—passing still further on you have the Barber lands on both sides. On the right you will see a very elegunt looking building recently built by our friend Mr James W Smith. Looking to your left across the Meadow you see the Tannery of Mr J. G. Eakin,[44] and a little further on you will find yourself at the Mills, and residence of Mr. L. Smith. These Mills do a regular business in sawing out [and] grinding, but their wheat flour is not sold in foreign markets. We will now return to the east end of the Parsonage lot, and turning to the right up Day Street, passing the M. E. Church[45] Schoolhouse Mrs. Smiths[46]—Uncle Wes's house—P. L. Davis'[47] Mrs Griffins[48] the graveyard, Mrs Pollards,[49] A. P. Smiths[50] T A Smiths and H. C. Derieux.[51] If we stop here and retrace our steps nearly to Mrs Pollards—turn to the left and through the big gate, will find the residence of Mr. J. B. Derieux[52]—[The following was crossed out: where Dr. Dice is boarding.]

Walter Manley

About the year 1849, Walter Manley finished his education, left college, and saught a situation as Book Keeper in a Wholesale establishment in the City

[38] John M. Bunch, a school teacher. Isaac W. Allen is also listed in the census as teaching school. E. R. Cate was the teacher in 1887, according to the *Gazetteer*.

[39] Serena Evans, a housekeeper.

[40] James A. Brooks and his son, B. N. Brooks, are listed in the census as blacksmiths.

[41] Wiley H. D. Huffaker and Jessee (Jesse?) Huffaker are both listed as blacksmiths in the 1880 census; and "Huffaker Bros." is one of the two blacksmith shops listed in the 1887 *Gazetteer*. The other was J. A. Brooks.

[42] The "Barber Bros.," not listed in 1880 census, are given in the 1887 *Gazetteer* as having a lumber manufactory and grist mill.

[43] Mary J. Allen, a housekeeper.

[44] James G. Eakin, a tanner.

[45] The Reverend R. O. Ayers is listed in the 1887 *Gazetteer* as a Methodist minister.

[46] A Mrs. Didonis Smith is listed in the census as a housekeeper.

[47] Paschal L. Davis, a shoemaker. P. L. Davis is listed in the 1887 *Gazetteer* as a painter, and a Wm. Collins as a shoemaker (as he was also in 1880).

[48] Sarah Griffin, a housekeeper.

[49] Sarah Pollard, a housekeeper.

[50] The Reverend Alvin P. Smith, a Baptist minister.

[51] Henry C. Derieux, a carpenter. Three other carpenters besides Derieux and James W. Smith are listed in 1880: Adam L. Adcock, William Davis (son of Joseph), and Thomas Pilant. Only W. H. Davis is listed in 1887 as a carpenter.

[52] Jessee (or Jesse) B. Derieux, a farmer.

of New York. His employers soon discovered that their trust had been bestowed upon one, whom they considered, worthy to be trusted. The accurascy with which he kept his accounts—his puntuality, in fact, his whole deportment had won for him, the love and esteem of all whom it was his lot meet. During his first year as book keeper, he was Married to a young lady of good education and refinement, but whose misfortune it was to be poor. Walter's earnings had not been wasted, for he was not extravegant. Edith his wife had also saved her earnings for the last two years which she had earned as Music teacher, and by uniting their means, they were able to buy them a neat cottage, only a distance of one half mile from the wholesale store in which Walter was employed. At the end of his first year Walters wages were raised from $1200. to $1500. per year. About this time John Elder was employed as salesman in the same house, and soon made the acquaintance of Walter, whom he treated with so much respect and gentlemanly bearing, that they were soon, apparenly very good friends. Johns boarding-house was between Walter's cottage and the business house, so that they were often thrown together in passing in and out. John would occasionally avoid the company of Walter, for the purpose of stopping at a drinking saloon. It happend one evening that when he was just stepping from the door of the saloon, that Walter stepped near him, and they went on in silence untill they reached John's boarding-house where he turned in without having spoken a word. The next day, John approached Walter with an apology, and asked his pardon for having been in the saloon, to which Walter replied "All right John I suppose you are a free man, and can go where you please." After this John would turn into the saloon, and take his drink more publicly and finally asked Walter to "walk in" with him. He did so and took a small drink of Wine. The first drink was now taken, the taste was pleasant.—every evening found the two friends together in the saloon, but for six Months Walter attended to his duties regularly and satisfactorily; by that time, it had grown on him to such a degree that he did not accompany his wife to church on Sunday, and sometimes on Monday was not able to go to work until afternoon; greatly to the annoyance of his employers. Thus things went on for some months, when Walter in a fit of drunkeness, spent all of Saturday night and Sunday in a gambling saloon—losing all the money he had, with his watch and fine Gold pen. He spent Monday at home and on tuesday morning returned to his work, to find his place filled by another man. His employers told him they were not willing to give him up, but that they were compelled to do so under the circumstances—that they must have a sober and reliable man at their books—that their reputation and their success, mainly depended upon their chief accountant. Walter went home with a sorrowful heart —he must now confess to his wife that he had been discharged from his position on account of *drunkeness.* While thus confessing he felt that he must justify himself, 'for' said he "I have done my duty as book keeper, I have all ways been at my post when I was well enough to get there and it does seem hard; that after serving them faithfully, as I have, that they have been so rigid in dealing with me." Edith listening to his defence attentively, paused a moment, then she said "Walter it is hard that you should be thrown out of employment. It is hard too that you should be thus disgraced, but who is to blame for it. I have feared for many months that you were driving to this very point. It has not come as soon as I expected, but it has come." "Why Edith! why did you not tell me so long ago then, that I might have been ready for it? "Why Walter I knew that you would not be ready for it. I knew too that anything that I could say to you, would not have the affect upon you that this misfortune was sure to have. true I feared the result—I yet fear it—I don't know what is to become of

us—we are poor, and unless you should cease your extravigant use of money, we will soon be entirely homeless, and friendless." "Edith it seems to me that *you* are a little too hard on me—I have not been very extravigant in the use of money—certainly, we were getting along well enough until I was discharged from my position as bookkeeper." "Now, Walter will you tell me how often you went to the saloon every day for one year?" "Yes" I only went of an evening for a month or two, then I went in the morning also, but that dont amount to much, it dident cost me much, only two drinks a day, you know is nothing to care for." Did you not take friends with you? Well not all the time—sometimes I would take some good fellows in and treat them to a social glass, but that never hurt anything. Well now Walter do you think that you made of average of two friends a day? Well maybe I did, but you know Edith that that dont amount to anything to hurt." "Well Walter you have been losing some time on Monday you know that will come into the account." "Yes Edith I know that, but it wasent only a half a day about once a week—sometimes, a day, but on an average, not more than two days in three weeks, so you see thats not much. Well now tell me Walter how much money you lost in gambling during the time? "Not much only gambled a little one night—only lost about $82, true it is all I had with me—might have lost more, and then you know that dont amount to enough to scare anyone. "Well did you not lose your watch? what was it worth? Why Edith what do you mean? The watch cost me $100. but I can get along without it—we couldent eat it. Well what about your gold pen? What did it cost you? I believe you told me that you paid five dollars for it? Yes Edith thats right. Here the conversation ceased for a short time when Edith commenced again by saying I have been making calculations, let me show them to you.

You went to the saloon twice a day, taking a friend each time which was equal to four drinks a day, (to include Sunday for you always brought it home with you on Saturday night to do you till Monday) which would be 60 cts. per day, or $18 per mo. in one year you know that amounts to $216. You have lost 2 days every three weeks which amounts to 34 days in a year, or one mo. and 8 days, about $164, you lost $82 in cash, you lost your watch another $100—your gold pen $5. So you see now, that you have paid out $567. in the past year—lost your position—brought on disease—disgrace, and have thrown your self into idleness. It has now been one month since you were discharged, and if we add that to the $567. we will have a net loss of $692. in cash to say nothing of our coming troubles, and our present misery. Walter gazed upon the figures in profound silence for some minutes, when he seem utterly overcome, and rising to leave the room, "Said Edith! you frighten me, *I must, I* will *reform!* Edith seeing the effect produced, exclaimed "May the Lord help you."

One week later Mr. Johnson the wholesale merchant having heard that Walter had resolved to reform, entered the cottage and found Walter and Edith at tea, and was cordially invited to partake with them,—took his seat at their table. On doing so he said, "Walter I have called this evening to ask of you on what kind of terms you will return to your position, and take charge of my books. A tear was seen in Walters eye, and at the same time Edith hid her face, for she too was much moved by the remarks of Mr Johnson. Nothing was said for some minutes, when Walter said Mr Johnson I am not worthy of your confidence—state the conditions yourself—if I *can*, I *will* comply. Mr Johnson said "Sign the Pledge." To which Walter said "I have resolved before God, that henceforth I will never touch anything "as a beverage that will intoxicate!" Walter was reinstated into his former position, and ever after lived up to his solemn pledge. During Walter's absence from the store, John Elder had been also dis-

charged for inattention to his duties as Salesman, and had been frequently seen lying on the sidewalk—too drunk to walk or even stand alone. Walter took occasion to meet John when convenient, and by good words, he soon convinced him that he was still his true friend,—persuaded him to leave off drinking for one week, that he might have time to reflect. Before the week had expired, John had signed the Pledge, and at our last account of him, was a minister of Gospel, doing a good work.

Ten years later Mr Johnson offered Walter an enterist in the store, which he accepted and placed his means in Mr Johnsons hands. Walter, soon afterwards, became business Manager for the firm, and the large 'sign" over the door bearing the name of R. W. Johnson, was removed, and in its stead was one bearing the Firm name of Johnson & Manly. This new change was soon made know[n] far and near, for all who had ever dealt with Mr. Johnson were favorably impressed by Mr. Manly. Mr Johnson's health having failed he retired from any active duties, and paying Walter a good salary, soon enabled him to own one half the entire store. At Mr. Johnson's death Walter continued the business buying of Mr. Johnsons heirs their stock in the store, and is today (though in the decline of life) one of the most prominent business men of the great Metropolis, and admits that he owes it all to the influence of Edith.

"Kick him when he's down."

When the sun of prosperity's shining, and a man's growing rich every day;
When in ease and comfort reclining and golden success crowns his way,
How friends will flock about him!
But if Fortune should happen to frown, How quickly he'll get the "cold shoulder'
And be kicked because he is down.
How kindly the world will smile on him When life with success abound!
How cordially—blandly—twill greet him, As in pleasure he's riding around;
But then let reverses o're take him, And friends, both in country and town,
Have not a kind word with which to cheer him—but all kick him as soon as he's down.
Let a man get position or wealth, (Matters not by intrigue or by fraud,)
The world nods approvingly at him, And his acts will loudly applaud;
What though he may be a great villain, With the simple the wise and the clown,
While he's up he's a "tip top fellow"—But they'll kick him if ever he gets down.
When a man has plenty of 'greenbacks" And he's healthy and festive and gay,
He's counted a "bully good chum" then, And the crowd approves all he may say;
But just let him lose his treasure—Perchance that his wealth may be gone—
He'll get to be nobody quickly, And be sure to be kicked when he's down.
What's the use of being moral or honest, or strive to be upright and true,
For unless a man's got lots of money, The world's bound to put him right through.
They'll go for him, certain and surely, From the jockey to the priest—in his his gown,—
And all will stand ready to snub him and kick him as soon as he is down.

Conclusion.

We are now, about to close our term as Editor of this Journal, and in doing so, we would call your attention to the fact that very much, as regards the success of our Journal, will depend upon its Editor, and while we have discharged the duties to the best our ability, we are frank to confess that our Journal is very

far from being perfect. We would admonish you to be very careful in making or choosing your next Editor, knowing as we do, that we have some of the best talents of our country in our Lodge.

Another subject of still greater importance is now pressing itself upon us, and to which we owe our attention, that is, The present quarter is nearly closed and our elections are now upon us, and we are once more called upon to elect officers to govern us from the first of August to the first of Nov. As we have *many* worthy members who are well qualified to fill our different offices, we hope that none will consider themselves neglected if they should not happen to be honored with an office, And we hope further that none will shrink from the duties of or responsibilities of the offices which they may be called upon to fill.

Now we have done, Let us all endeavor to do our whole duty—let us use our best endevors to increase our numbers—let us support our next Editor, and make our Journal, not an experiment, but a "real Journal" filled with good original matter, that it may command the attention and admiration of all; and now, hoping that "our Banner" may never be furled. — Farewell. The Editors.

"VINELAND" IN TENNESSEE, 1852: THE JOURNAL OF ROSINE PARMENTIER.

Edited by BEN H. MCCLARY AND LEROY P. GRAF

In 1852 after a four-day voyage, a young lady from Brooklyn, her sister and brother-in-law, arrived in Savannah, Georgia, and a day later began a journey by train into the up-country. Their ultimate destination was "Vineland," a small colony of European settlers which her family had helped to locate in the Sylco Mountains of lower East Tennessee.

No ordinary Brooklynite, the young lady was the younger daughter of Madame Sylvia Parmentier and the late André Parmentier, an early horticulturist who significantly influenced landscape gardening in early nineteenth-century America.[1] Born in 1829, only a year before her father's untimely death, Rosine grew to young womanhood under the influence of a devoutly Catholic mother and a forceful older sister. Her formal education in Madame Galitzen's private school had been supplemented by the experiences of life in the comfortable Parmentier residence on Bridge Street, with its never-ending stream of Catholic dignitaries and missionaries enroute to and from the fringe areas of civilization. Next to religious zeal, love of botanic lore was a pervading enthusiasm of the Parmentier family.

Her sister Adele, approaching thirty-nine in 1852, seems to have been more active and outgoing than Rosine. Before their father's death, Adele, who spoke five languages fluently, had assisted André in his work; and with her mother she administered the family botanical garden until its sale in 1832. In 1841, about the time Rosine was beginning school at Madame Galitzen's, Adele was married in the first nuptial

[1] Andrew Jackson Downing, *Landscape Gardening* (New York, 1921), 8-9. In addition to introducing numerous varieties of shrubs, flowers, vegetables, and vines to America, André Parmentier was a frequent contributor of horticultural information to such publications as the *New York Farmer* and *American Farmer* (See issues, 1828 to 1831). According to his most recent biographer, "It was he who first in America spread abroad the gospel of naturalistic treatment for parks and gardens." Sister Mary James Lowery, *Model Lay Activity: The Brooklyn Parmentier Family* (Brooklyn, 1940), 16. In his *Periodical Catalogue of Fruits and Ornamental Trees and Shrubs* (1828), M. Parmentier declared his intention "to reinstate Nature in the possession of those rights from which she has too long been banished by an undue regard to symmetry." Quoted in *ibid.* In 1832, two years after his death, Madame Parmentier sold the Garden for $60,000. Unless otherwise noted, biographical information concerning the Parmentier and Bayer families comes from Sister Mary James Lowery's family history, cited above.

Mass celebrated in Brooklyn to Edward Bayer, a merchant and later director of the Emigrant Savings Bank.

Though the journey which these three travellers undertook was not notably difficult or dangerous, it did have its hardships, or at least inconveniences. A rough voyage from New York, a train trip interrupted by frequent stops, a hotel infested by bedbugs, and finally a tortuous and uncomfortable trip by wagon were the trials which these city-dwellers were willing to incur in order to visit the little colony in the lower reaches of the Appalachian Mountains. The objective of their trek was as interesting as the travellers themselves.

Sometime during the 1840's, after the removal of the Cherokee Indians from the area, Rosine Parmentier, the Bayers, and some of their New York friends had purchased tracts of land in the Sylco Mountains of East Tennessee. We can only speculate about the motives which prompted this purchase. It is conceivable that they were attracted by the prospect of acquiring large tracts of rather inaccessible and mountainous terrain at comparatively little cost. Or, again, they may have been interested in planting a Catholic colony in the midst of an overwhelmingly Protestant population, though it must be conceded that while there is ample evidence of a strong vein of missionary zeal in the Parmentier family, there is no evidence that the Sylco colonists sought to convert their Tennessee neighbors to Romanism. Perhaps the most persuasive explanation arises from the family's botanical interests. Were they intrigued by the possibility of establishing profitable vineyards, as well as having a place where interesting natural flora might be investigated and collected? Certainly the journal provides ample evidence of the visitors' preoccupation with the plants of the vicinity. Nor can we know precisely what role N. E. Guerin, for over twenty years manager of the colony, played in the inception of the project.

There is some evidence to suggest that the community was organized as an experiment in social living, a modified version of the communitarian farm which appears in America during these years.[2] The residents of the colony, six families of approximately twenty people in

[2] See Alice Felt Tyler, *Freedom's Ferment. Phases of American Social History to 1860* (Minneapolis, 1944), chapter 8. Some information about the colony may be found in John Shamblin, " 'Old Dutch Settlement' in Polk County Recalled," in the John Morgan Wooten Scrapbooks (Chattanooga Public Library). The article originally appeared in the *Chattanooga Times*, datelined July 5 (no year given).

1850, were natives of Germany, Italy, and France.[3] In the early days, they seem to have accepted Mr. Guerin's directorship as both natural and right. His goal was to establish a self-sufficient Catholic colony which would produce wine for export, an activity which would provide revenue for the proprietors, the manager, and the non-land-owning members of the colony. According to local lore (though no proof can now be found), considerable wine was being produced and exported by the early fifties. There is evidence, however, that by 1852, when the three proprietors visited Vineland, they found a rather close-knit little community, existing as much as possible aloof from its "American" neighbors.

What happened after 1852 is as hazy as the activities of the earlier years. The colonists, beginning to mix with the "Americans," seem to have developed an independent spirit which led to a resentment of Mr. Guerin's management. The difficulty of maintaining Catholic discipline so far from a center of church power and the persistent proselytizing by the protestant sects seem to have undermined the religious unity of the group. And finally, the dislocations of the Civil War destroyed forever the colony as a separate entity. Some of the families, forgetting eventually what had brought them to the Sylco Mountains, lived on in the area. In 1897, Rosine, by now an aging spinster, registered the final demise of the dream when she gave or sold the land to the people then living on it.[4]

If Vineland failed, many other projects championed by Rosine and Adele did not. A missionary zeal ever impelled them to assist charitable causes. When Rosine died, her will included bequests to such diversified institutions and areas as an Indian mission in Montana, orphanages in North Carolina, and a Negro school in Montgomery, Alabama. One of her most famous proteges was King Mataafa of the Samoan Islands.

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[3] United States, Seventh Census (1850), Original Schedules, Population, Tennessee, Polk County, Fifth District (microfilm, Lawson McGhee Library, Knoxville, Tennessee), 479. Hereafter cited as Seventh Census, Pop. Eventually there would be nine families, including three French and the others German and Italian. Robert Sparks Walker, "The Chable Bird Sanctuary," *The Chattanooga Times,* Sunday Magazine, August 15, 1937. See footnote 22 below for Chable's relation to the colony.

[4] Records in Register of Deed's Office (Polk County Court House, Benton, Tennessee). Although no evidence can be offered as proof, since courthouse fires have destroyed many official records, perhaps the following transaction (of which apparently nothing ever came) was in some way connected with the break-up of the Vineland experiment. "A company from Cincinnati has bought about twenty thousand acres of land in this county [Polk] with a view of establishing a Vineyard." *Brownlow's Knoxville Whig,* January 28, 1860.

Adele's activities after 1852 earned for her a place in national Catholic histories.[5] Called "The Guardian Angel of the Sailor," she regularly from 1861 until her death in 1892 visited the men in various naval hospitals and in the Brooklyn Navy Yard. She set up a private allotment system to provide for the families of sailors and was responsible for the introduction in 1888 of the first Catholic chaplain into the United States Navy.

Today the Parmentier name and Vineland (or as it is usually called, "the Old Dutch Settlement") are known in a misty, legendary way by a few residents of the area. No printed book refers to the colony; whatever official records existed have been lost or destroyed; even the descendants of the original Vineland families know little of the venture. The passage of time has almost eradicated even the physical evidence of what was once a promising little community. Tenacious research combined with a modicum of conjectural insight have been necessary in order to piece together the preceding scanty information which is not detailed enough to recreate any of the spirit or intent of Vineland at its zenith. Were it not for one source of information, we would have to dismiss Vineland as a lost page in East Tennessee history. Happily, Rosine Parmentier on her trip in 1852 kept a journal in which she described her journey from New York and her stay in the Sylco Mountains, thereby affording posterity a vivid glimpse of Mr. Guerin's colony.

First printed in 1914 in the Cleveland (Tenn.) *Journal and Banner*,[6] Rosine's journal appeared in six installments, running from March 13 to April 24; it was thereafter forgotten until 1954 when one of the present editors chanced upon it while examining the newspaper file in the Cleveland Public Library. What happened to the original

[5] The best account of Adele's activities is found in Thomas F. Meehan, "Adele Bayer," *The Catholic Encyclopedia* (New York, 1913 ed.), II, 357-58.

[6] The six installments appeared in the following issues of the Cleveland *Journal and Banner* during March and April, 1914: Mar. 13 (journal entries of Oct. 2-6); Mar. 20 (Oct. 6-8); Apr. 3 (Oct. 8-9); Apr. 10 (Oct. 10-13); Apr. 17 (Oct. 13-18); Apr. 24 (Oct. 18-30). The short, two-paragraph introduction to the newspaper publication was so full of errors and misinformation as to make its reprinting here not only useless but misleading. It might, however, be noted that the writer, though he seems not to have read the journal carefully and was relying heavily on undocumented local lore, did assert that "anywhere from 35,000 to 50,000 acres of land in the Sylco Mountains . . ." were owned by the colony's backers. As for the tantalizing question of whence came the journal which was being published, the writer of the introduction merely remarked: "Miss Rosine Parmentier kept a diary and her journal after a lapse of 62 years has fallen into possession of persons who have given it to the Journal and Banner and it is now published for the first time." *Ibid.*, March 13, 1914.

journal is not known, but it probably was destroyed in the *Banner* office following publication. There is no copy in the Parmentier papers. Sister Mary James Lowery, who went through all of those papers in the 1930's when she was preparing her study of the Parmentier family, not only knew nothing of the journal but was surprised to learn about Vineland and the 1852 trip. As printed below, the journal is particularly valuable, in that it is the only known complete copy, since in the recent microfilming of the files of the *Banner* portions of two of the installments were broken off and lost.

Interestingly written and generously strewn with names and allusions to fauna, flora, and local legend, the journal shows us a writer both sensitive and observant. However, it is as a unique account of Vineland, a community heretofore unrecorded, that the following document seems worthy of publication here.

* * * * * *

THE JOURNAL OF ROSINE PARMENTIER
1852

Saturday, October 2, 1852—We left New York on board the steamer,[7] Alabama, for Savannah. We had not yet lost sight of land when we felt a strong crosswind which caused the ship to roll exceedingly.

In less than half an hour the deck, which had been crowded with passengers, was abandoned to a few gentlemen and the dreadful sensation of seasickness was felt by nearly all.

Just as the waiters were engaged in preparing the tables for tea, the ship suddenly leaned to one side and down came dishes, plates and tumblers on the floor. The broken crockery formed two large heaps and this circumstance caused a great scarcity during the passage.

Sunday, October 3, 1852—Today we enjoyed fine, clear weather. The sight of the ocean which to me was quite new was truly beautiful and grand. The wide expanse of water was bounded only by the sky and as far as the eye could reach not a sail was to be seen.

Monday—The weather still continues fine. We have seen several ships in the distance. In the afternoon we passed a steam propellor, City of Richmond,[8] which appeared to be loaded with passengers. We also saw some sea gulls and really when one is shut up in the ship every little circumstance serves to break the monotony. Today was the first day that Adele and myself were able to come to the table; there were very few ladies who had appeared before us. We had 200 cabin and 80 steerage passengers.

Tuesday—This morning we saw land for the first time in two days. About ten o'clock we entered the Savannah river, which is one of the muddiest rivers I have ever seen. It is so low at times that the steamers cannot ascend to the city

[7] On October 4, 1852, the *New York Times*, announcing the departure of the *Alabama* for Savannah on the previous Saturday, noted that Mrs. E. Bayer was among the passengers.

[8] The Mailler and Lord Line steamship *City of Richmond* sailed from the Port of New York on October 1, bound for Charleston. *Ibid.*, October 2, 1852.

and a steamboat is sometimes sent to take the passengers and baggage on shore. It is bordered with rice plantations but the first crop had already been gathered. We, however, saw a great number of negroes at work in the fields.

From the river Savannah does not present a fine appearance. Everything looks old and abandoned; in fact, the whole city looks dull and deserted. You hardly meet anyone on the streets except the negroes of every shade from ebony down to almost white, with large eyes and grinning faces.

I believe there is no city in the United States that has so many squares. You find one every two or three blocks, but they have merely a wooden fence and appear to be very much neglected. Opposite the Pulaski House where we were staying was Monument Square, so called from a monument which had been erected to the memory of General Green. It appears to be falling in ruins but it is proposed to erect a new one which will cost $18,000. A similar one will be built in honor of the illustrious Count Pulaski.[9] The streets are bordered with a beautiful species of trees called Pride of India. The foliage is light and extremely graceful. The trees bear a purple flower which has a delightful perfume but as it blooms in the springtime we did not see the flowers. The Crape Myrtle also attains a very great size.

On either side of the Marine Bank we saw two magnificent palmetto trees. The effect of their fine tall stems surmounted by their handsome fan-like leaves was really beautiful, and, to me, quite novel. It reminds me of the description of tropical vegetation.

Savannah has a population of 18,000 souls, 6,000 blacks and 12,000 whites.[10] The streets of Savannah are not paved which makes it very dusty, but the reason is that they have no paving stones and as the ground is extremely sandy it would be almost impossible to make them hold. We thought the walking would be bad in wet weather but were told that on the contrary the sand absorbs the rain and makes the streets much more pleasant than when they were dry.

It is very amusing to hear the negroes call each other lady and gentlemen. When Edward was waiting for the baggage he asked several of the negroes who were standing near to show him the person who took charge of it; they immediately pointed to another negro, saying, "It is that gentleman with the hat on, Sir."

Wednesday, 6th—We left Savannah this morning at 8 o'clock by the Central Railroad[11] which goes as far as Macon, a distance of 191 miles. The cars were very comfortable and the road is extremely well built. The country from Savannah to Macon is flat and wooded. You do not pass a single large town during the whole route, merely small clusters of cottages and sometimes only one house at the stopping places. The meadows are filled with beautiful flowers of innumerable varieties, a number being entirely new to us. We also saw large quantities of Carolina moss hanging from the trees; it gives them a sorrowful appearance and I believe in the end often kills them. There is also a species of

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[9] According to *Georgia: A Guide to its Towns and Countryside* (American Guide Series, Atlanta, 1954), 130, the present Nathanael Greene Monument is the original one designed by William Strickland and dedicated by Lafayette in 1825. The proposed Pulaski Monument to which Miss Parmentier refers was designed by Robert E. Launitz and erected in 1855 in honor of Count Casimir Pulaski, the Polish nobleman who fought for the American cause during the Revolution. *Ibid.*, 133.

[10] In 1850 the official population of Savannah was 8,395 whites, 686 free colored, and 6,231 slaves, a total of 15,312 souls. *The Seventh Census of the United States . . .* (Washington, 1853), 366.

[11] The Central of Georgia still follows the same route from Savannah to Macon.

feather-like weed which is seen almost everywhere. It is covered with minute seeds which must carry it in every direction. They call it wild fennel. We passed several plantations with rows of little cabins for the negroes. The country is swampy and must be extremely unhealthy; the soil also appears to be very poor. There are many fields of cotton but from the poverty of the soil its growth was not luxuriant.

At Davisboro, [122] miles from Savannah, we saw a large number of palmettoes growing before a farm house. The seeds were already formed and Edward collected some. The young buds are eaten as vegetables.

In order to make the railroad pass through the Oconee swamps a bridge and embankment was built two and one half miles in length, a part of it being covered and a man remains there day and night in order to guard against fire. There are often freshets when the high supports of the bridge are even with the water. On the right side there is a break-water to throw back the water and it looks like a smooth lake. At this point the railroad is perfectly straight and the effect is very pretty looking back as far as the eye can reach. You see the road hemmed on both sides by woods.

The winters are so mild that the greater number of the forest trees remain green during the whole year. Last winter was the first time in 14 years that snow had been seen. The prettiest town on the whole route is Griswoldville,[12] which is the last station before you reach Macon. The streets are wide and straight and planted with trees. There are several cotton factories and it promises to become a flourishing place.

We left Macon about 6 o'clock by the Western and Atlantic Railway for Atlanta, a distance of 101 miles. Neither the road nor cars are as good as the Central Railroad. As we passed during the night we were not able to see the country.

We reached Atlanta between one and two o'clock and as the hotels in that town are not remarkable for their cleanliness we preferred not going to bed and merely slept in a rocking chair. We were fortunate in not doing so, for one of our fellow passengers told us the next morning that he had lost a great deal of blood by having slept there.

Thursday—at 6 A.M. we left Atlanta by the state road. Atlanta is the meeting place of four railroads. Seven years ago there was but one house and now it has a population of 5,500 souls.

The distance from here to Dalton where we changed cars is 100 miles. The country is more diversified and the soil is also better than along the road between Savannah and Macon.

At a short distance from Atlanta we passed over a bridge 125 feet high over the Chattahoochee river, which is a beautiful stream. There are large blocks of granite and singular clay formations.

Marietta is the largest town which we passed on this road. It has a fine square and several brick houses. Everything looks thriving and well kept. We saw many cotton fields much finer than those we had hitherto passed. The negroes were busily engaged in picking it.

We reached Dalton at 2 o'clock and left for Cleveland over the East Tennessee and Georgia Railroad. The scenery becomes more and more picturesque; on every side you see the mountains and the air already becomes purer. We suffered exceedingly from the heat during the last three days; the sun was stronger and more intense than during the month of July.

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[12] Now called Griswold, this station is approximately seven miles from Macon.

Cleveland is situated at about 300 yards from the depot. The courthouse stands in the middle of the village and the houses and streets are built all around the square.

We engaged a man to take us next morning in his wagon to the settlement in the Sylco Mountains.

Friday—This morning at half past seven we set off in an uncovered country wagon without springs. We had three rush bottomed chairs and our trunks served to keep them in place. The road is constantly up and down hill, some of the descents being very rapid.[13] But our driver was very careful and sure of his horses.

The mountains were towering one above another, the nearer ones covered with verdure and the more distant ones of that bluish cast which adds so much beauty to a landscape. The scenery was so grand and magnificent and at every ascent you felt the effect of the pure mountain air.

About one o'clock we came to a neat farmhouse where we stopped for dinner. Everything was in perfect order and we really enjoyed that dinner more than those which we took in the fashionable hotels.

From this farm, which is owned by a man named Greenly,[14] we had a fine view of one of the mountains which is very high and goes tapering to a point.[15] It is amusing to hear these country people try to find out all about us. After having spoken but a little while with us Mr. Greenly turned to Edward and asked, "And, what might be your name, Sir?" Edward told him and then he asked whether Adele and I were connected with him and which of us was his wife. Then he turned to me and asked, "What age do you call yourself?"

They were plain but kind people and even invited us several times to stay and sleep that night at their house. They all knew Mr. Guerin[16] at the settlement to which we were going and spoke very highly of him.

Our conductor intended to take us by another route but Mr. Greenly told him of another which was longer but less rough, so we decided to take it and in fact it was the only one by which we could reach the settlement. At a short distance from there we saw magnolia tripetelas and magnolia neuminates for the first time.

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[13] Until they came into the vicinity of Sylco Creek, the travelers had been on the Copper Road which would soon be the life-line of the Copper Basin, running between Cleveland and Ducktown. Work had been started on it in 1851, and its forty-five miles were completed in 1853. Over this road during the next four decades thousands of mule trains would move carrying copper ore to the railroads in Cleveland and returning with supplies for the people of the Basin. See George Mellen, "The Old Copper Road," Knoxville *Sentinel,* October 22, 1921; R. E. Barclay, *Ducktown Back in Raht's Time* (Chapel Hill, 1946), opposite 131.

In 1860, Harden E. Taliaferro, the humorist, passed over this road and wrote of his impressions of the country in *The Southern Literary Messenger,* XXXI (November, 1860), 337-42.

[14] The *Journal and Banner* edition of the journal appended the following note: "The Greenly home referred to above is at present known as the Copeland place and the ford of the river immediately after dinner was probably at a point just west of the present dam at Parksville where a ferry was operated during the Tenn. Power Co. activities there." The Parksville Dam was later incorporated into the TVA network of dams on the Ocoee River, becoming Ocoee Dam No. 1. The Copeland referred to in this note was Dr. W. J. Copeland. See Ben H. McClary, "'Fun, Fact and Philosophy': The Diary of John Coffee Williamson, 1858-1861" (M. A. Thesis, University of Tennessee, 1957), xxx-xxxi.

[15] Sugar Loaf Mountain.

[16] The 1860 census schedule listed N. E. Guerin as the manager of Vineland, aged 60, born in France, and having a total wealth of $5,000. United States, Eighth Census, Population, Tennessee, Polk County, Fifth District, 94. In the 1850 schedule his wealth had been $1,000. Seventh Census, Pop., Polk, Fifth Dist., 479.

The soil is exceedingly rich and productive; the corn which is one of the staple products of the country attains an extraordinary height.

We came in view of the Ocoee River, which is a beautiful and clear stream. Along its banks we saw large Judas trees, silver bell, beach trees, holly, splendid rhododendrons, andromada, water oaks, which have a small and beautiful leaf, laurels in abundance, tulip trees, gentian, white and blue anpatorium, etc. We crossed the Ocoee and continued on the other bank of the river for miles. The scenery here was truly grand. The stream rolled rapidly over a very rocky bed which formed little cascades. On either side were mountains which reminded Edward of the mountains of Switzerland.[17] We now came to another ford where we had to cross the river again, but as we were told it was difficult and sometimes dangerous the driver procured one of his friends to ride over on horseback in front of us. He kindly consented to do so and would receive nothing for his trouble.

When we had reached the other side of the river our pilot told us as it was already 5 o'clock and we had seven long miles uphill to the settlement it would be absolutely impossible to reach there tonight. The prospect was not very pleasant for us to remain in one of these dirty log cabins for the night but Haight,[18] the driver, who was as anxious as ourselves to proceed, said that he would continue until he could go no farther.

The ascent from the river was very steep and as the water had got into the wagon in fording the bottom was very slippery so that all our chairs slid down and were only kept up by the trunks.

We continued to the mountain asking our way as we went along and always receiving the consoling (?) reply, "You can't get there tonight."

Gradually night closed in. We asked at several log cabins for someone to show us the way but some were too old, at other places the men were gone to the mill or the women were out and the children could not be left alone.

We had already crossed Sylco creek a great many times. The driver had never been on this road before. It was extremely dark for we were in the woods surrounded by tall trees which almost shut out the sky and our position was not an enviable one.

We at last reached a house which appeared to be in good order. Edward knocked at the door but received no answer. He went to the back door but the house was empty so that we were again disappointed and obliged to continue our route without a guide and without light.

After crossing Sylco again twice we saw a fence which showed we were approaching a house, and at last the light was twinkling. We hailed a man who was standing near the door and requested him to accompany us, but he said his wife would be left alone in the woods. We then asked him if he would give us some pine knots to light us on our way. He immediately split some and explained to us the road. Edward volunteered to carry the torches since we could get no one else to do it. It was a difficult and almost dangerous operation, for these pine knots give a very good light to those who are behind but the person who carries them can hardly see at all. It was particularly difficult in crossing the

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[17] In 1876 T. M. Schleier did a series of stereoscope slides on this region and called it "The Beauties of American Switzerland." Set owned by Mrs. Frances Hodgkins, Cleveland, Tennessee. Dr. Gerard P. Troost, after being in this general area in 1837, wrote: "the sight recalled to my memory the Alpine scenery of Switzerland." Quoted in Barclay, *Ducktown Back in Raht's Time,* 43.

[18] The Population Schedule of the Seventh Census of Bradley County is too dim and blurred to be of any service; consequently Cleveland residents will have to be identified whenever possible by other means.

logs which served as bridges that Edward showed his skill. It was a torch light procession that was anything but amusing to the actors in the scene.

We had to cross Sylco 27 times before we reached the settlement. We continued this for about 3 miles, but we at last came to a place where the road was no longer distinct; a log was placed across to show it had been turned but we could not see in what direction. Edward explored on every side but he could distinguish no outlet. In our perplexity we thought we could distinguish the barking of dogs. The sound became more distinct. Edward went toward the place whence it came and called after someone. A man answered and soon came toward us. He told the driver how to find the road and when Edward told him who he was he consented to accompany us. It was really providential that we found him. He had just been undressing to go to bed when he thought he heard the sound of wheels and as it is something unusual at that hour he listened and answered Edward's call.

Our stock of pine knots was nearly spent and Mr. Crawford had none so he took an axe in case he should find some and as he had the habit of using them he knew how to make them go farther than we did.

The road was now very good and we felt sure of reaching the settlement tonight. The road Mr. Guerin had made to ascend the mountain is very well calculated; in some places the ascent is rather rapid but it is wide and smooth, which is not the case in many parts through which we came.

Between 9 and 10 o'clock we reached Mr. Guerin's. We knocked and asked for Mr. Guerin, who came to the door but did not recognize Edward's voice. But as the door was partly made of glass he saw me and quickly opened. He was very much astonished to see us at such a late hour, having expected that we would have slept at some of the houses on the road and that we would arrive about 12 o'clock Saturday.

It was very fortunate we were able to arrive that night, for Saturday was a rainy day.

Saturday, Oct. 9th—This morning we had rain which continued during the greater part of the day. Notwithstanding we had a visit from Mrs. Gianelly, Louise and from Mrs. Miolane.[19] They all look extremely well and are quite happy and contented. Louise brought us some very fine chestnuts, some of which were nearly as large as the European ones. Mr. Guerin's house is built on a little hill which slopes toward the west. His garden, which must be beautiful during the summer, is arranged in terraces to prevent the ground from being washed away during the rains which are sometimes very heavy in the spring. His house is wide but only one story high and has a balcony or stoop across the whole front which makes it very pleasant, for the sun only comes there late in the afternoon. The dining room is in the middle; on the right side is Mr. Guerin's bedroom which served us as a parlor; on the left were two small bedrooms which we occupied. Behind the dining room is the kitchen which communicates with a woodshed on the right. There is a smoke house behind the kitchen which communicates with the kitchen chimney, so that all the smoke goes in there. Opposite the house are two cleared hillocks, on one of which the houses which serve for newly arrived settlers are placed, the other is covered with little shrubs of every variety of color of foliage which our autumn alone produces. Behind these hillocks the mountain which we ascended is seen.

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[19] In 1850 the Gianelly family consisted of the following members: Framer, 68, male, born in Italy; Chevira, age not given, female, born in France; Louise, 15, female, born in France. The Miolane family: Francis, 44, male; Catherine, 45, female; Crepin, 25, male; Louis, 22, male; all born in France. Seventh Census, Pop., Polk, Fifth Dist., 479.

The settlement is situated about 1800 feet above the level of the sea.

Sunday.—The weather still continued unpleasant this morning. We saw, however, all the settlers as they came to assist at the prayers. Everybody seems to grow younger in this country. Old Mr. Miolane, who is 62 years old, does not seem to be more than 45[20] and we mistook him to be his son, Crepin. Grinelly also looks infinitely better than he did when he left Flatbush. The weather cleared up a little this afternoon so that we were able to take a walk to the spring. It is very prettily located in a pleasant shady spot. A log hut has been built over it to protect it. We found exquisitely beautiful white flowers which grow along the creek; there was also a pretty campanala with purple flowers which grows abundantly. Edward found some wild grapes which had a very good flavor. The taste is finer than that of the Isabella, although it is somewhat tart; some persons might like it. Mr. Guerin cultivates large numbers of these vines and considers them excellent for making wine.

Monday, Oct. 11—The weather is beautiful now, although rather warm. The dews are very heavy here; they almost amount to a small rain that would make it rather unpleasant for us to go out and therefore we arranged that we would remain home in the morning and only walk out in the afternoon. We determined that our first visit should be to the settlement, which is a short distance from Mr. Guerin's house. We took the little path down to the block house which fronts on the road and continued that road which follows the creek for a little distance. There is a grist mill on this creek which Mr. Guerin intends arranging so one day in the week he will grind for the settlers, and this will be a great convenience, for they have now to go five miles to have their corn ground. After the mill we passed a small bridge over the creek; and reached Linder's home,[21] but as he had quinsy or sore throat we did not go in. These people have shown a great deal of industry and perseverance, for they had absolutely nothing when they commenced and now their fields and everything about them look in good order. They enjoy excellent health and are perfectly contented.

Continuing the road we reached Gianelly's house on the left. It is almost hidden in the grape vines which have trained around it. Louise has a great deal of courage for she goes everywhere in the woods barefooted and if she sees a rattlesnake she takes a stone and kills it. She gave us some rattles which she had taken from snakes she had killed by herself.

From Gianelly's we went to see the Miolanes. They have a fine view from their house. At the foot of the hill there is a chalybeate spring from which we drank several glasses of water then retraced our steps much pleased with our first walk in Bayer's settlement. The houses of the Americans were scattered around but these we did not visit.

Tuesday, Oct. 12—The weather continues warm and fine. This afternoon we took a walk to see Jonkier's valley. The road is rather wild for some distance. It is through a sort of bottom entirely covered by large rhododendrons and laurels. Mr. Guerin showed us a very singular mushroom which can be eaten and which has the flavor of the ordinary mushroom. The French name is Morille. We have planned if the morrow be fine we will ascend the famed Frog Mountain. Mr. Guerin thinks that the real name of this mountain is Fog because it is almost always enveloped in mist. There is a creek which descends from its top which is called Fog creek.

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[20] Rosine was not the only one to be misled by Miolane's appearance. Notice that the 1850 census, cited above, gave Francis Miolane's age as 44.

[21] Linder [no other name given], 24, born in Germany. *Ibid.*

Wednesday, Oct. 13—This morning is cloudy and foggy so we have not been able to decide whether we will venture or not. Towards 9 o'clock the weather seemed to settle a little so we determined to start, for the ascent is rather difficult. A cloudy day, provided it did not rain, would be preferable to a sunny one. We took the trail behind Mr. Miolane's house and commenced our walk in very good spirits. Mr. Guerin opened the march and he looked quite like Robinson Crusoe, for he had his gun over one shoulder, his game bag, which carried part of our dinner, and a flask of wine over the other. In his belt he carried a small hatchet which was to take up any new plants we might find. I followed behind Mr. Guerin for I had placed myself under his immediate protection. Mr. Chable[22] came next, carrying the remainder of the dinner in his game bag, which was made from the skin of a catamount. Adele followed next and Edward brought up the rear. In some places the ascent is almost perpendicular and just at these places the path is not more than a foot wide. The worst one is that which leads to a part called Sugar Orchard, from a number of maple trees found there. It is more than 200 yards long and the path is so slippery that it is almost impossible to maintain one's footing. Without assistance I would have fallen many times. This path is sometimes taken by persons on horseback because it shortens the distance; even women have been known to pass over it horseback but there is danger in so doing because in one place where you pass on a large ridge there are deep hollows on either side and if the horse missed his footing you might be precipitated in one of these gullies. The part called Sugar Orchard and portions of the summit of the mountain are covered with tall plants and aromatic herbs. They have but little smell at present but it appears that in the summer it is so strong that it gives one a headache merely to pass through them.

At some distance up the mountain Mr. Guerin's little dog, which is very fond of hunting, refused all at once to proceed. He thought it singular and told us to wait and that he would go on and see what was the cause. He found the fresh tracks of a very large bear, but as he knew if he said so we would not like to go on and that he was also quite sure the beast would not come near us, he did not tell us of it until we were back at home.

The hollows of this mountain are filled with bears and panthers which remain there during the day and only ascend to higher ground at night.

When we were near the summit we beheld a magnificent sight.

We had been walking for sometime in a sort of mist when all at once we emerged from it and beheld the white fleecy clouds at our feet. It resembled the waves of the sea, for the clouds seemed to form little bellows, and what contributes still more to the beauty of the scene was that the tops of the high mountains which could still be seen looked like islands on the sea. The effect was truly beautiful.

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[22] Alphonso A. Chable had probably not arrived in the colony in 1850, for he does not appear in the census of that year. In 1860 he was listed as aged 29. Eighth Census, Pop., Tenn., Polk, Fifth Dist., 94. Legend says—and legend is the only source—that Rosine was in love with the young Frenchman who had been sent to the colony as Mr. Guerin's assistant. Certainly this is not in any way suggested by Rosine's journal notations. At any rate, Chable was soon assimilated into "American" life, served as the captain of a company of Confederate soldiers organized in Polk County (A. J. Williams, *Confederate History of Polk County Tenn., 1860-1866* [Nashville, 1923], 19.), married a local girl, and settled on the Jack River in Georgia. Among his children was a daughter named Rosine and another named Adele. Andrew Alphonse Chable, an insurance executive and sportsman of Knoxville, was his son. In the 1930's the Chable property in Georgia was declared a bird sanctuary. See Walker, "The Chable Bird Sanctuary," *loc. cit.*, 2.

We continued our ascent and reached the top at 1 o'clock. We immediately proceeded to the spring which was filled with dried leaves, but Mr. Guerin soon cleared it out and offered us some water, which we drank with a good deal of pleasure. He then spread out our dinner, which we took under the shade of the trees. It was the first time we had ever dined at 4,800 feet above the level of the sea. Mr. Guerin then took off part of the bark of a tree on which Edward wrote the following inscription: "Mr. & Mrs. Edward Bayer and Miss Rosine Parmentier of Brooklyn, N. Y., N. E. Guerin and A. Chable of France, October 13, 1852." On our return we found many pretty flowers which were not yet faded. Among others a pink phlox and a scarlet flower which Adele believed to be Sychnis. There were also brilliant blue and jet black berries of which we took plants and a pretty little lace flower, the blossoms of which resembled that of a potato. Near this little plant we found a blue or lilac colored phlox and somewhat farther a delicate pink flower with light green foliage. The variety of grasses is immense, some delicate and graceful like plumes, others tall and waving with every breath of wind. It must be splendid in the summer, but as everything has some disadvantage, I must add that the rattle snakes are said to be abundant at that time. There was an abundance of chesnuts but we had not the time to pick them. There was also a kind of edible acorn which I liked very much; the taste was slightly bitter but the kernel was white as a chestnut.

We startled many pheasants but Mr. Guerin did not shoot any because they would have fallen in some of the numerous hollows and no one would have wished to go down to get them.

We reached home between 5 & 6 o'clock, much pleased with our expedition. The distance going and coming is about 12 miles, but from the difficulty both of ascent and descent, Mr. Guerin said it might be considered fully equal to 20 miles on good road. As we had descended the mountain, the weather had cleared up so that we were able to have a fine view of the country.

From the top of the mountain six states can be seen, viz: Tennessee, Georgia, Alabama, North Carolina, Kentucky and Virginia.

Thursday, Oct. 14—This morning was very cold but in the middle of the day quite warm and pleasant. In order to not fatigue ourselves too much, we determined not to go out today, but to remain at home and paint the flowers which we had collected on Frog Mountain. We saw several flocks of birds going south, which is a sign winter is approaching.

Friday, Oct. 15—This afternoon Mr. Guerin promised to show me one of my sections which is situated on the other side of Sylco Creek. In order to reach it we had to descend the mountain we had ascended the night of our arrival. The distance from Mr. Guerin's house to the bottom of the mountain is a mile and a half.

We found along the road many plants of the viola pedata, which were full of flowers. We then took the path to the left and after crossing the interminable and winding Sylco Creek on logs we reached Mr. Arthur's house. We passed this and took a path which is used by those who go to Cleveland on foot. The ascent is rather steep but after having gone up Frog Mt. we found nothing difficult in that line, in fact the country is so mountainous that never mind of which side you turn you find yourself surrounded by mountains.

The section which Mr. Guerin selected for me is beautifully located, it is almost level. The trees are not large and there are no shrubs, so that it could be cleared with very little trouble. There is a hill which rises on one side. A fine setlement could be made in this section, for it now looks like a beautiful garden.

Saturday.—Today we set out to visit Big Creek, where Dietzsch's[23] three sections are situated. There was formerly a good road leading to the place but now the bridges have become delapidated. In order to avoid this road Mr. Guerin led us down into a hollow where we followed what appeared to me to be the bed of a creek. The earth was black and moist. Masses of trees covered with moss had fallen in every direction. There are also numbers of rhododendrens which were as tall as trees. Altogether it was a very unpleasant road, particularly so as Mr. Guerin told us this was a place much frequented by bears. In fact, Adele saw a large tree which had the marks of a bear's claws on the trunk. It seems they often amuse themselves by climbing up the trees. It was awfully wild and I was truly glad when we could get out of it. We continued on Dietzsch's road and reached his house which is now abandoned and is quite delapidated. We saw a small portion of the creek but the road which leads to it is so bad that we did not go any farther. As we did not relish returning by the same road, Mr. Guerin brought us home across the Chestnut ridge, which is composed of many mountains; the highest is 1400 feet above sea level. They rise one above the other so that when you think you have reached the top you see all at once another higher mountain rising above your head. This happened to us 3 times in succession. We had a pretty view from the summit of Chestnut ridge. We heard a great many wild turkeys calling to each other but none were caught, so we were deprived of the pleasure of seeing them.

Sunday.—The weather continues fine although rather cold in the mornings. Today, we received dear mama's letter, which gave us much pleasure.

Monday.—This afternoon we visited the Hog Back, the ascent of which is steep in many places, particularly where the mountain is covered with dried grass. The sun was very strong so that we suffered more from heat than during any of our walks and unfortunately there was no spring on this mountain which is indeed quite a rarity in this neighborhood where almost everyone has a spring on his farm. The highest mountain of this ridge is about 1800 feet above sea level. The view is said to be fine from the top, but the weather was not favorable so that we had not a distinct view. The mountain abounds with large chestnut trees; the mountain's were the largest which we found. This ridge of mountains is so infested with rattlesnakes and copper heads that in the summer no one dares go up there without leggins. It seems these snakes do not run away like other snakes but remain where they are, only sounding their rattles when you walk on them and they are about to bite.

I was always under the impression that rattle snakes sounded their rattles to warn you of their presence, but it seems that this is a mistake as they sound them when they are about to strike. The hogs destroy many snakes every year.

We did not find any new flowers. Everything begins to wither and to show signs of winter; if we should have waited we should hardly have found anything.

Tuesday.—The weather was so excessively warm today that Mr. Guerin advised us not to go out in the afternoon. He saw seven black snakes stretched out in the sun before the little cabins which are opposite his house and although they are harmless he thought we might be frightened if we saw them in the woods. I had yet some flowers in reserve to paint so that I was glad to stay at home.

[23] Apparently Dietzsch had been an early adventurer who had not taken well to the wilderness. Mary M. Deitsch was an executor and the chief benefactor of Rosine's will. See Lowery, *Model Lay Activity*, Appendix A, 61-69.

Wednesday, 20. — This morning Mr. Guerin rode down to Mr. McKissack's[24] to inquire about the post office which has been established there; it is called Sylco P. O. and by the road through the mountains the distance is but five miles. This will be a great convenience, for Mr. Guerin can often have opportunities to send for and receive his letters with much less delay than by Cleveland. Mr. Guerin came home about 2 o'clock and after dinner we took a walk to Gianelly's to see his chalybeate spring. It is about a quarter of a mile from his house and is covered with a rust of yellowish iron. We drank several glasses of it but it has not a very strong taste of iron.

Thursday.—The afternoon being pleasant we visited a part of Edward's land known as the "Indian Valley," where there was supposed to be gold mines. The valley obtained this name from the circumstance that the Cherokee Indians camped here before their removal to the Indian territory. It is a very pretty and romantic looking valley. This circumstance that led persons to suppose that there was gold was that a tree was found on which was an oddly formed character carved shaped much like the capital letter P with an X in the center, around which [was] an arrow pointing in the direction of the rocky bed of a stream which is now dry. Many Americans have dug there but not to any extent. They found some particles of gold but not enough to repay them for their trouble. Mr. Guerin once found a piece that was worth $12. He showed it to some persons and it all at once disappeared so that someone must have stolen it. He found this piece in the fissure of a quartz rock. The quartz is of snow white and sometimes a yellowish color. Persons who have returned from California told Mr. Guerin that this resembled the "California Diggings."

Friday.—Nothing of interest has occurred today; the weather still continues warm. Mr. Guerin told us that he found some real sarsaparilla in the valley and also the root of the vitever, which is so good to protect furs and worsted materials from moths. He had none now but he gave us a kind of root which is called snake root. It has a much stronger smell and is even more efficacious. The Indians use it for medicine.

Saturday.—This afternoon we went to see a very singular rock which Mr. Guerin discovered a short distance from his house. It has evidently been produced by the eruption of a volcano; you can see where the lava has flowed and has petrified. It is one of the most remarkable things which I have seen since we came.

Sunday.—There is nothing new today. We saw many of the settlers this morning.

Monday.—We were busy packing our trunks this morning for our journey home. In the afternoon Mr. Guerin commenced his preparation for Mr. Jacquet,[25] making a very nice temporary altar adorned with many wreaths of laurel and pine, and for a new settlement it looks very well. Rev. M. Jacquet had written that he would come today or tomorrow.

Tuesday.—Rev. M. Jacquet arrived a little before dinner. We will not be able to hear mass tomorrow as we will be obliged to leave early. Adele has made quite a collection of plants which we packed in moss so that I hope they will reach Brooklyn in safety.

Wednesday, 27.—This morning we left the settlement where we had enjoyed ourselves during nearly three weeks. We arose at 4 o'clock and left at 6:30. The weather was cloudy but happily, it did not rain. We stopped to dine

[24] Abraham McKissick, aged 48. Seventh Census, Pop., Tenn., Polk, Fifth Dist., 474.

[25] Searching has failed to reveal any other reference to this bringer of spiritual comfort to the colonists.

at Mr. Greenly's from whose house we again saw the sugar loaf shaped mountain of which I spoke before.[26] Mr. Guerin did not know the name of it. A little farther on [looking back] we saw our friend, the Frog Mountain, quite in the distance, but towering above all the others. It was a beautiful bluish tinge. We tasted on the road the fruit of the persimmon tree, which is very abundant. The taste is pleasant and rather sweet. It is said to be a powerful astringent. The fruit is fit to be eaten only after it has been touched by the frost.

We found the road to Cleveland very good and we arrived there at 6:30 in the evening.

Thursday.—This morning the weather is delightful but the people here think it is rather cool; they sit around the fire as if it was really cold. We have been offered fire five or six times in our room and they cannot understand that we do not find it cold. It is really tiresome to see how leisurely they move about in these villages. Everyone walks slowly with his hands in his pockets as if they had absolutely nothing to do. Time is nothing to them and they will lose a whole day riding about to borrow an article which could be made in a few hours. Coming from New York where everything is activity and hustle it puts one almost out of patience to see their apathy and laziness.[27]

Cleveland is the county town of Bradley County; its population amounts to about 1,000.[28]

Friday, Oct. 29.—Today is cloudy and a little rain fell this morning. There is a revival going on in the Methodist church, but the revival is made by the Presbyterians. Although there is a block between us we can hear their cries in our room.

The village is well laid out; the streets are wide and straight, many of them planted with trees. We saw one very large brick house which belongs to a Dr. Thompson.[29] The court house is a square brick building with a sort of steeple.

The most polite negro whom I have seen during our travels certainly is "Ned,"[30] a servant belonging to Mrs. Inman, the lady who keeps the hotel. He is always hat in hand, bowing and smiling, ever ready to oblige.

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[26] Sugar Loaf Mountain has become the accepted name.

[27] There are two sides to every issue. Fourteen years later a citizen of Cleveland, just back from a trip to New York, reported on conditions in that city. "Everybody appears to be in a hurry, and won't stop even one half hour to talk to a fellow . . . . It may be fashionable in New York to do thus, but 'd—n all such fashion' . . . . If a fellow stops to read the 'signs' he is certain to be run over." Cleveland *Banner,* November 22, 1866.

[28] Although no dependable figures are available for the population of Cleveland in the early 'fifties, it is probable that Rosine's figure is on the generous side. This was the eve of Cleveland's period of expansion. Soon the mines of the Copper Basin would begin to be exploited, and Cleveland would prosper and grow as a result. See articles on early growth and development of Cleveland by Ben H. McClary, Cleveland *Daily Banner,* June-August, 1957.

[29] *East Tennessee* (A. D. Smith and Co., Chattanooga, Tenn., 1893), 372. Dr. G. B. Thompson's brick home was several yards south of Inman House, on the opposite side of Ocoee Street. Dr. Thompson's daughter married J. H. Craigmiles and later incorporated this house into the Episcopal center which she founded in memory of her daughter, Nina, killed perhaps as a result of the grandfather's carelessness or drunkenness in a buggy-train accident.

[30] Ned was more than a servant to Mrs. Inman. He was a town ornament. Alarm clock, welcoming committee of one, and village jester were three titles which he was pleased to claim. The Athens (Tenn.) *Post,* October 18, 1858, siad this about him: "Uncle Ned is a gentleman of fast colors; about 55 or 60 years of age; has resided in Cleveland from its infancy, and occupied almost all prominent positions during said time. He now acts as City Clock and beats the Reveille—Every morning when Ned blows his trumpet, for an hour you can see the people busily engaged in obeying the call." On October 15, the

Saturday.—Last night the rain fell in torrents. When old Ned came in to awaken us Edward said, "Well, Uncle Ned, what shall we do for a conveyance for the ladies?" "I was jes' thinkin' dat myself, sah, and I'll go hunt up one right away, sah," answered the polite darkey.

We left Cleveland at 7 o'clock for Dalton.

We shall not soon forget our visit to Cleveland and the Sylco mountains. What drew our attention most both in Tennessee and Georgia was the great number of white haired children whom we saw before every log cabin.[31]

Post had described Ned's antics at the recent Cleveland Fair. In connection with his work at Inman House, Ned met every train (two each day) which chugged over the East Tennessee and Georgia Railroad, hoping to get customers for his mistress's establishment; thus he encountered these travelers.

For many years before and after the Civil War, Mrs. James W. Inman operated Inman House, on the site of the present Church of Christ on Broad Street. *History of Tennessee: East Tennessee Edition* (Goodspeed Publishing Company, Nashville, 1887), 966. Mrs. Inman's daughter, Darthula, kept a diary covering this period, but there seem to be no references to these travelers. Manuscript in Duke University Library, Durham, N. C.

[31] Probably they returned to New York on the *Alabama* which docked on November 10, carrying eighteen passengers. *New York Times,* November 10, 1852.

EARLY EAST TENNESSEE TAXPAYERS

Compiled by Pollyanna Creekmore

VII. Sullivan County, 1796[1]

Sullivan County, the second oldest county in the state of Tennessee, was created out of the northern part of Washington County by the North Carolina legislature in October, 1779. It also included the portion of North Carolina's western claim, lying north and west of the Holston River, which had been considered to be a part of Virginia since 1771. In that year, when the Indian boundary according to the Treaty of Lochaber was being surveyed, it was decided to use the Holston River instead of the 36° 30′ parallel. Since that parallel was also the dividing line between North Carolina and Virginia, the Indian boundary—the Holston River—was accepted also as the boundary between these colonies (later states) until the 36° 30′ line was surveyed in 1779. The new county was named in honor of General John Sullivan (1740-1795), an officer in the Continental army. It was reduced in size by the creation of Hawkins County in 1786. Several attempts to create a Powel County out of Sullivan failed.[2]

Most of the original records of Sullivan County were destroyed on the afternoon of September 22, 1863, when a shell from a Federal battery hit the Sullivan County Courthouse at Blountville, setting it afire and destroying all of its contents. Included were the county court minutes and the records of wills and marriages from 1780. The deed books were kept at the home of the register, Frederick Sturm, and escaped destruction. Fortunately, some information concerning the organization of the county was copied from the early minute book before it was destroyed. In 1844 Lyman C. Draper, on a southern trip collecting material on the settlement of the West, stopped at Blount-

[1] For introduction to this series see *Publications*, No. 23 (1951), 115-16. Previous installments have been: I. Anderson County, 1802, in No. 23; II. Blount County, 1801, in No. 24; III. Knox County, 1806, in No. 25; IV. Grainger County, 1799, in No. 27; V. Jefferson County, 1800, in No. 28; VI. Carter County, 1796, in No. 30.

[2] Walter Clark (ed.), *The State Records of North Carolina*, XXIV (Goldsboro, 1905), 300; Tennessee Historical Records Survey, *Inventory of the County Archives of Tennessee. No. 82, Sullivan County* (Nashville, 1942), 1-4. See also "Introduction," in Prentiss Price (ed.), "Two petitions to Virginia of the North of the Holston Men, 1776, 1777," East Tennessee Historical Society's *Publications*, No. 21 (1949), 95-99.

ville and took some notes. In the early 1850's Dr. J. G. M. Ramsey, while writing his *Annals of Tennessee,* obtained from a correspondent similar information.[3]

According to these sources, the county court of Sullivan County first met on Monday, February 7, 1780, at the home of Moses Looney. Commissions as justices of the peace were presented by Isaac Shelby, David Looney, Gilbert Christian, John Duncan, William Wallace, and Samuel Smith. The other justices named in the act creating the county, Henry Clark, Anthony Bledsoe, George Maxwell, John Anderson, and Joseph Martin, apparently were absent. John Rhea was appointed clerk and Nathaniel Clark sheriff "till court in course." Isaac Shelby exhibited a commission dated November 19, 1779, signed by Governor Richard Caswell, appointing him colonel commandant of the county. Commissions of the same date appointed David Looney as first major and John Shelby, second major. John Adair was appointed entry taker and Ephraim Dunlap, state attorney. Although not mentioned by either Draper or Ramsey, William Wallace was appointed register of deeds and David Shelby county surveyor, according to land records. The court adjourned to meet again at the house of James Hollis.

For six years the county seat was in the neighborhood of Eaton's Station, now known as Eden's Ridge. When Hawkins County was created out of Sullivan in 1786, a more central location of the county seat was needed. A commission compoed of James Martin, James McNeil, John Duncan, Evan Shelby, Samuel Smith, William King, and John Scott fixed the location at the present site of Blountville. The first court held there met at the home of Joseph Cole. In 1795 Blountville was made the permanent seat of government. Four years earlier provision had been made for the building of a courthouse, jail, and stocks at that place, since thirty acres of land had been conveyed by James Brigham to the courthouse commissioners, John Anderson, George Maxwell, and Richard Gammon, for the purpose. The first courthouse, a massive log structure with a jail in the rear, was replaced

[3] The compiler is indebted to Prentiss Price of Rogersville, Tennessee, for this information. See also Draper MSS. 3S138-139 (State Historical Society, Madison, Wisconsin; microfilm in the University of Tennessee Library), and J. G. M. Ramsey, *The Annals of Tennessee to the End of the Eighteenth Century* (reprinted, Kingsport, 1926), 189. The reason for the statement that Ramsey received the information from a correspondent is because the names are garbled to some extent, *e.g.* William Christie, instead of Gilbert Christian; John Dunham, instead of John Duncan. Dr. Ramsey was too familiar with these names to have so miscopied them himself.

in 1825 by a brick building with a jail adjoining. The third courthouse, located between the sites of the first two, was erected in 1853. After being burned by Federal troops in 1863, it was rebuilt in 1866 and remodeled in 1920.[4]

The system of assessing and collecting public taxes in Tennessee was established by an act passed by the territorial assembly on September 30, 1794. The act prescribed the manner of taking the taxes and designated what property was taxable: "All lands held by deed or entry . . . or by lease, or right of dower, all free males and male servants between the age of ten and fifty years, all stud horses, and all town lots within this territory."[5]

The following lists were transcribed from a microfilm copy of the original certified copy returned by Matthew Rhea, Sullivan County court clerk, to the Tennessee general assembly, now on file in the Tennessee Archives. It is not of record in Sullivan County. Also in the Archives are lists for 1797 and 1811-12. All of these lists were microfilmed by the compiler in 1949, through the courtesy of Mrs. John Trotwood Moore, then Tennessee state librarian and archivist. The films are available in the McClung Collection, Lawson McGhee Library, Knoxville.

As previously stated, many of the Sullivan County records have been destroyed, among them the county court minutes. The county tax rate for 1796 is unknown due to the loss of these records.

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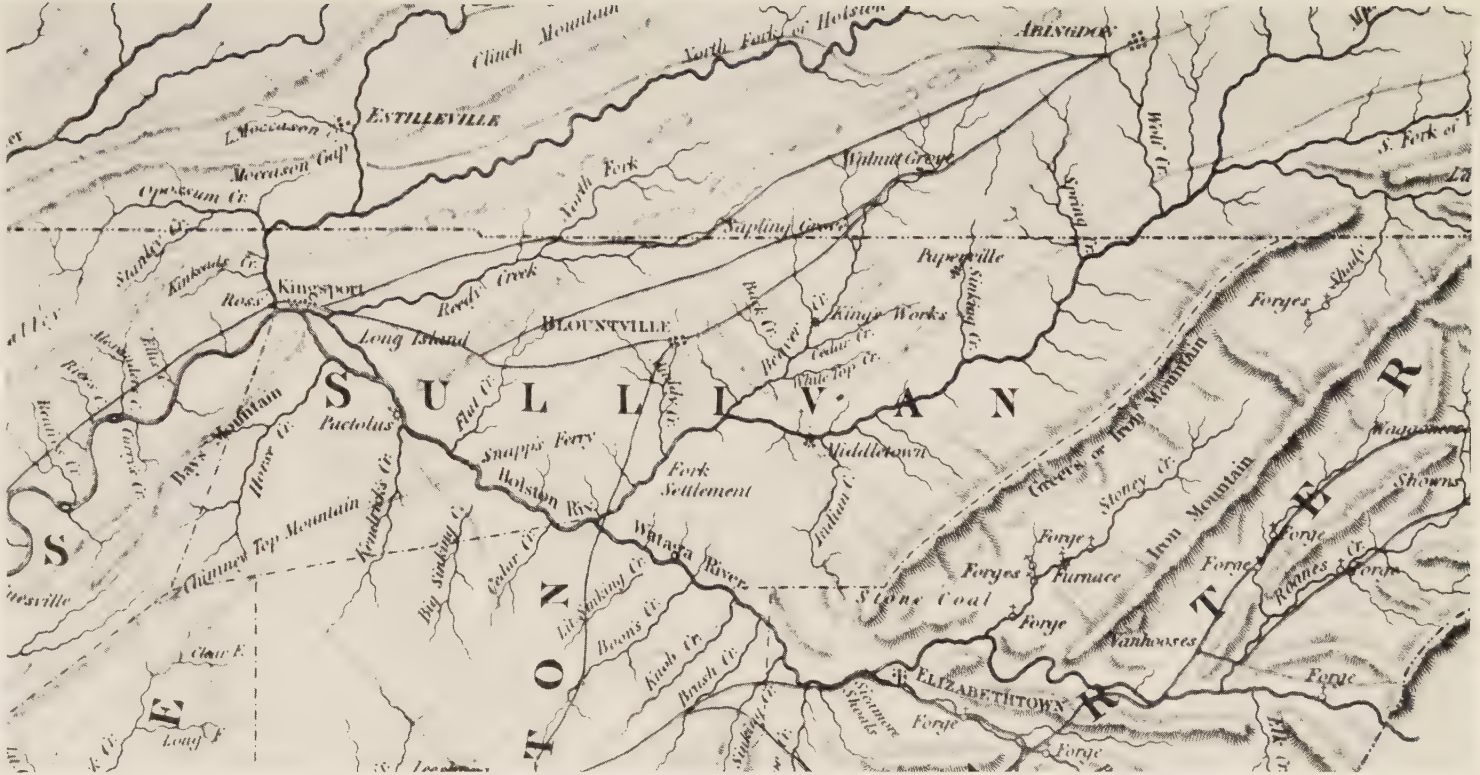
[4] *Inventory of County Archives . . . Sullivan County*, 5.

[5] George Roulstone (comp.), *Laws of the State of Tennessee* (Knoxville, 1803), 54-56. The legal and constitutional bases of taxation in Sullivan County, 1796, and the methods of collecting, were the same as those for Carter County as described in *Publications*, No. 30 (1958), 104-06.



Sullivan County

A detail from the Matthew Rhea Map, 1832

SULLIVAN COUNTY, TENNESSEE
TAX LISTS
1796

Key to Column Numbers[6]

[1] Acres of Land
[2] White Polls
[3] Black Polls

"Copy of the Tax Roll of Sullivan County for the year 1796"

Names	[1]	[2]	[3]	*Names*	[1]	[2]	[3]
Ashworth, John	177	1		Bas, Benjamin			1
Anthony, William	500	1		Bishop, Thomas			1
Arwine, James		1		Bishop, Peter			1
Ackyard, Jacob	200	1		Bishop, William			1
Acoff, Timothy	904		3	Bradshaw, Thomas			1
Adams, Macajah	292	1		Buchannan, William			1
Acoff, John		1		Buckner, Presley		1	
Adwell, John	160			Boyd, James	84	1	
Allen, Charles	198			Browning, Roger	125	1	
Allen, James		1	1	Brooks, John	142	1	3
Allen, Daniel	283	1		Bowser, John		1	
Amos, Thomas		1		Birdwell, Robert	250		3
Anderson, Stuart	100	1		Birdwell, Joseph	60	1	
Agee, William	200	1		Birdwell, Mary	195		
Anderson, William	97	1		Baker, Morris	100	1	
Arrants, Harmon	400	1		Basket, Richard	80	1	
Armstrong, William	200	1	2	Billing, John	614	2	2
Anglin, Aaron		1		Birdwell, John		1	
Adams, Elisha		1		Birdwell, Benjamin		1	
Anderson, John	400	1		Bond, Henry	122	1	
Abbot, James		1		Barnes, William	120	1	
Allison, John	200	1	1	Bowry, Margaret	640		
Allison, John Sr. decd. in Washington	200		1	Bond, William		1	
				Bryan, Ambrose		1	
Allison, Robert esqr	450	1		Baker, Charles	240		3
				Beard, John		1	
Beaty, Andrew		1		Beard, Thomas		1	
Bear, Peter	100	1		Bowyer, Michal		1	
Bear, Matthias	60	1		Beachboard, Benjn		1	
Brittain, Abraham	350			Beaver, Christn	100	1	
Bear, George		1		Beelor, Daniel	100	1	
Brittain, Nathl		1		Barton, Thomas	100	1	
Brittain, Abraham		1		Bowen, Joseph		1	
Burk, John			1	Barber, Simon	100		
Beaty, James		1		Beelor, John	200		
Brigham, James	670		1	Beeler, Peter	200	1	
Brigham, John			1	Beelor, Joseph		1	

[6] There are two additional columns in the original, "Stud Horses" and "Town lots." Six individuals were designated as owning one stud horse each: Thomas Beard, Samuel Crockett, John Musgrove, Jr., James Pickins, Thomas Titsworth, and James Wheeler. Six individuals were listed as owners of town lots, with one owning two: John Burk (2), Samuel Crockett, Edward Cox, Richard Gammon, Robert Rutledge, and John Shelby, Jr.

Names	[1]	[2]	[3]
Blevins, William	312		10
Buckles, John	100	1	
Blevins, James		1	
Blevins, William		1	1
Boy, Jacob	470	1	
Brightbill, Peter	100	1	
Beelor, Joseph	348		
Beelor, Jacob	720	1	
Bougher, John	200	1	
Beelor, Woolery	150	1	
Beelor, George	267		
Blevins, Dillon			3
Blevins, Armstead		1	1
Brittain, Richard	300	1	
Bradley, Jonathan	20	1	
Bishop, John	400		
Barnard, John	300		
Bragg, Thomas	320		
Bragg, David	100	1	
Bucknel, William	200		
Butler, Elisha	300		
Bachman, Samuel	840	1	
Bryant, William	50	1	
Bragg, Charles		1	
Barber, Liff		1	
Crawford, Hugh	640	1	2
Copland, John		1	
Copland, William	300		
Craft, Thomas		1	1
Childress, William	306	1	1
Carrithers, Samuel	100	1	2
Cooke, Joseph	105	1	
Cooper, Caleb		1	
Chester, John	225	1	1
Carson, Samuel	187	1	
Clarke, James	195		
Chote, Benjamin		1	
Cowan, Robert	180		1
Crockett, Samuel	138	1	2
Cawood, John Jr.		2	3
Chrisman, John		1	
Citciller [?], William	150		
Chance, Ezekiel	30	1	
Creagan, Patrick	240		
Creeley, Patrick	100		
Cooper, John	180		
Cooper, Thomas		1	
Cooper, Andrew		1	
Coffill, John		1	
Curten, John		1	

Names	[1]	[2]	[3]
Carr, Gilbert	357	1	
Cox, Greenberry	100	1	
Cox, Jesse	100	1	
Craft, Michael Sr.	192		
in Long island	740		3
Christian, George		1	
Craft, Michael		1	
Christian, Robert	400	1	
Cloud, Jeremiah	300	1	
Craft, Jesse		1	
Childress, David		1	
Crum, Henry		1	
Christian, William		1	
Condry, Richard	400	1	
Caffray, Richard		1	
Christian, Margaret	400		
Coppiner, Higgins		1	
Combs, Nicholas	140	1	1
Claiborne,			
William C. C.	300	1	1
Cavitt, John	100	1	
Chase, Sarah	200		4
Cotterell, Lemuel		1	
Conkin, George	150	1	
Christian, John		1	
Cotterell, John	50	1	
Crowder, William		1	
Combs, Nicholas	140	1	
Cox, Jeremiah	416	1	
Crumley, George	574		
Crumley, Daniel		1	
Crockett, Andrew	300	1	
Cabbage, Adam		1	
Cabbage, John		1	
Carr, William	240	1	
Crumley, George		1	
Chrisman, John	228		
Chrisman, David		1	
Cox, Joshua	290	1	
Cross, Acquilla	118	1	
Cole, Joseph Jr.	355	1	1
Cross, Elijah	600	1	
Cross, Joel	72	1	
Cross, William	86	1	
Cross, Abram	182	1	
Cole, Elisha	260	1	1
Cox, Edward	360	1	1
Carroll, William		1	
Crockett, Joseph	176	1	
David, Richard	163	1	

Names	[1]	[2]	[3]
Dolton, Timothy		1	
Dryden, David	450	1	1
Dunn, Thomas	150	1	
Delany, William	780	1	3
Dearman, George	618	1	
Devault, Michael	150	1	
Davies, John		1	
Downs, Benjamin	117	1	1
Downs, William	146	1	
Dinnel, Richard	200	1	
Denton, James	400		
Denton, Joseph	100	1	
Davies, John	100	1	
Dunsmore, Samuel	150	1	
Dyer, David	18	1	
Davison, John		1	
Davison, Samuel		1	
Davison, William		1	
Davison, Agness		1	
Easterlin, Thomas		1	
Erwin, David	540		
Elmore, William		1	
Edgman, Samuel	200	1	
Easley, Peter	300	1	
Easley, Stephen	520	3	
Edgman, William	100	1	
Easley, Robert	720	1	1
ditto for Moody's orphans	200		
Edgee [?], Daniel	100	1	
Elya [?], John		1	
England, John		1	
Emberson, John		1	
Egrim, John		1	
Evans, William	216		
Eldridge, William		1	
Emberson, Walter		1	
Etsley, Joseph		1	
Ellor, Jacob	150	1	
Edwards, John		1	
Edwards, Abel	210		
Emmert, Jacob	378	1	2
Emmert, George	150		
Frost, John	100	1	
Ford, Alexander	200	1	
Fagan, John	625	1	1
Foust, John	85	1	
Foust, Philip	216	1	
Foust, Peter		1	
Fink, George	42	1	
Fleenor, Jacob	200	1	
Funkhouser, John	280		
Feltnor, John		1	
Fulkerson, John	283	1	
Flin, George	95	1	
Frazier, James	180	1	
Ford, Dye		1	
Field, Stephen	300		
Ford, John	290	1	
Funk, John		1	
Foster, Benjamin		1	
Frame, William	150		
Gifford, Jabez		1	
Ginnings, John	87	1	
Gammon, Richard	1100	1	5
Ganes, Ambrose	200	1	2
Goad, John		1	
Goad, Gabriel	79	1	
Goad, Peter	200	1	
Goad, Margaret	100		
Goad, William	450	2	1
Gallimore, Abram		1	
Grubb, Jacob	200		
Grubb, John	200	1	
Gross, John	300	1	
Gross, George		1	
Goodson, John		1	
Greer, Andrew, Jr.		1	
Goddard, William		1	
Goddard, William, Sr.	195		
Goodner, Conrad	150	1	
Goddard, Thomas	178	1	
Gaines, James T.		1	
Gaines, Francis H.		1	
Gaines, James esqr	3000	1	
Giddins, Clark		1	
Grubb, John		1	
Jacobs son Grubb, John		1	
Gamble, Samuel	248	1	
in Hawkins County	227		
George, James	50	1	
Gregg, Nathan	390	1	1
Gregg, James	400	1	
Graham, John		1	
Gamble, Moses		1	
Giffeler, Adam	300	1	
Hamilton, Abram	131	1	

Names	[1]	[2]	[3]
Hamilton, Joshua	590	1	
Hamilton, John		1	
Hilton, Charles	200	2	
Hicks, Stephen	250	1	
Havron, James	92	1	
Harbert		1	
Huffman, Peter	312	1	
Hannah, Andrew	100	1	
Hallon [?], William	300	1	
Hughes, David	200	1	
Hartleroad, Henry	1035	1	1
Hughes, Thomas	100	1	
Hacker, John		1	
Hacker, Julius, Sr.	640		
Hartleroad, Martin		1	
Hacker, Julius		1	
Holloway, John	70		
Hawke, John	200		
Hicks, Isaac	40	1	
Hamilton, Thomas		1	
Hamilton, Thomas		1	
Houser, Nicholas	300	1	
Hethaway, Leonard		1	
Houser, John	189	1	
Hail, Alexr	212	1	
Hamilton, Richd		1	
Hamilton, Benjn		1	
Hagan, Arthur		1	
Hitterick, William	400	1	
Hitterick, John		1	
Hawkins, Henry		1	
Hatcher, William	75	1	
Hughes, David	348		
Holt, Simon	100		
Hicks, Shedrach	317	2	
Hughes, Thomas	312	1	
Hewitt, William		1	
Hilton, Arnold		1	
Hilton, John		1	
Houseley, Robert		1	
Hicks, Henry		1	
Hampton, Samuel	91	1	
Hymns, George	275	1	
Hicks, Jacob		1	
Hawkins, John	290	1	
Hawkins, Nicholas	400	1	
Hawkins, Nathan		1	
Harriss, Jeremiah	200	1	
Hart, Leonard	301	1	
Hicks, Richard	140	1	1
Hicks, Isaac	200		5
Hughes, Abner	100	1	
Hicks, Isaac	100	1	
Hunt, John	328		
Harriss, James	320	1	2
Huls, William	68	1	
Hodge, Francis	500	1	2
Hughes, William	480	1	
Hodges, William	73	1	
Iseley, Conrod	202	1	
Iseley, Conrod	202	1	
Iseley, Jacob	142	2	
Isbel, Hickman		1	
Johnston, Philip	100	1	
Johnston, Thomas		1	
Jolliff, William		1	
Joffill, Dudley	125		
Jackson, Joshua		1	2
Jones, Henry	75	1	
Johnston, Walter esqr	260	1	3
Jones, Solomon	240	1	
James, Walter	35	1	
Joab, Jacob	230		
Joab, Nathan	75		
Jackson, Peter	155		
Joab, Samuel		1	
Jones, John	50	1	
Jones, Thomas		1	
James, Bennet	93	1	1
King, Thomas	640	1	
Knight, John		1	
King, Walter	2322	1	1
King, William	100		
King, James esq.	490	1	9
Kite, Philip		1	
Kinchloe, John	233		
Keywood, John	940		6
Kniseley, John		1	
Kaler, Frederick	150		
Key, Joas	59	1	
King, Thomas	197	1	1
King, John	150	1	
King, James	300	1	
Low, George		1	
Lite, William	300		
Lite, Vitchel	100	1	
Large, Robert		1	
Little, George	400		
Little, Matthias	455	1	

Names	[1]	[2]	[3]
Lane, James		1	
Lowry, John	200	1	
Lite, Henry		1	
Lewis, David		1	
Lewis, Nathan	758		
in Washington	642		
Lewis, George		1	
Lewis, William		1	
McClarn, James	300	1	1
Meade, Mahlon	180	1	
McElderry, John	218	1	
Morget [?], Henry	427	1	
Maxwell, John		1	
Moore, Samuel	500	1	2
Molton, William	175	1	1
Morrison, Thomas		1	
Murrell, Richard	285	1	1
ditto for Page, John	293		
Morrison, James	230	1	
Miller, Henry	175	1	
McClain, Thomas		1	
Matlock, Luke	50	1	
Morelock, George	403	1	
Morelock, James	155	1	
Matlock, Jason	150	1	
Moyer, Jacob	140	1	
Miller, George	65	1	
Moyer, John	100		
Miller, Jacob		1	
Moyer, Daniel		1	
Milhorn [?], George	200		
Motton or Molton [?], Nicholas	100	1	
McKinley, Willm Sr.	375	1	
McKinley, Saml	150	1	
McKinley, William		1	
Miller, Christian	100	1	
Miller, Isaac	200	1	
Mitar, Jacob W		1	
Moore, Samuel		1	
Mackay, John	200	1	
Moyer, Gasper	100	1	
Moyer, Jacob	100		
McAntire, David		1	
Miller, Adam	100	1	
Moseley, John	150		
McGuire, Thomas	175	1	
McKaughan, Archd	50	1	
Moore, Garrett	200	1	
McIntosh, Peter	156	1	
McNaley, John		1	
Mercer, Nicholas	200	1	
Mercer, Edward	264	1	
Moore, Alexander	281		
Myars, Jacob		1	
Miller, Samuel	140		
Miller, George		1	
McBride, William		1	
Musgrove, John	200		
Musgrove, John Jr		1	1
Morrell, Edmund		1	
Morrell, Thomas	100	1	
Morrell, Jonathan	100		
Morrell, John	87		
Morrell, Daniel		1	
McCorkle, Samuel	400	1	1
Malone, Michal	280	2	
Morgan, William	100		
Miller, John	353	1	
Miller, Thomas	295		
McClellan, Abram	500		3
McClellan, John		1	
Morriss, James		1	
Morgan, Abel	33	1	
McCormick, William	100	1	
Massingall, Henry	100		
McKeymey, Robert		1	
Nash, William esq	679		3
Norkett, John		1	
Nidiver, Jacob	600	1	
Nidiver, George	100	1	
Offill, James	600	2	
Ozborne, Jnac.	164	1	
Owen, Jonathan	400	1	
Odle, William	100	1	1
Porterfield, Seth	200	1	
Pope, Mary	550		
Pawlett, Ann	147		
Pawlett, Abram		1	
Pawlett, Robert		1	
Prigmore, Drury	100	1	
Pilcher, John		1	
Patterson, Sarah	870	1	
Peoples, Nathan	400		
Pemberton, John	606	3	1
William	64	1	
Rachal	50		
Punch, John		1	
Profit, David	377		

Names	[1]	[2]	[3]
Perry, Rowland	100	1	
Perry, David Esqr	322		2
Peters, Conrod	278		1
Peters, John		1	
Petre, George	60	1	
Phillips, Charles	180		
Price, Thomas	110	1	
Peirce, Absalom	50	1	
Parker, Hannah	100		
Perkins, Edward	170	1	
Pickins, James	300	1	1
Parker, William	220	1	
Prothro, David		1	
Prothro, John	270	1	
Roller, John	440	1	
Roller, Martin	750		2
in Knox County	200		
Roberts, William	485	1	
Robinson, Moses	417	1	1
Rogers, Abraham		1	
Roller, Jacob		1	
Richards, Joshua	150	1	
Rhea, William	300	1	1
Rutledge, George		1	2
Rhea, John			
in Sullivan	640	1	
Also on waters of			
Indian Creek	640		
Robinson, Catharine	125	1	
Ruby, Henry	190	1	
Rutledge, Robert	450	1	2
Rystone, Benjamin	400		4
Richeson, John	380	1	
Rogers, Nicholas	250	2	
Reyley, John	350		
Rowler, Martin Jr.	412	1	
Reyley, Joseph		1	
Rhea, Matthew	400	1	4
Spurgin, John	635	1	3
in Sumner County	320		
Shoemaker, John	200	1	
Shipley, Richard	480	2	
Smith, William	168	1	1
Shipley, Eli	400	1	
Shipley, John	100		
Stott, William	200	1	
Stephens, Edmund		1	
Shoemaker, William		1	
Stoke, Adam	200		

Names	[1]	[2]	[3]
Stevenson, William	340	1	3
Shoemaker, John		1	
Smith, Joseph	402		
Stuart, John	437	1	
Stoke, Adam	161	1	
Seavers, George	200	1	
Sullivan, Henry	107	1	
Simpson, Mary	200		
Sharpe, John	546		4
Saunders, John	200	1	
Schell, Frederick	66	1	
Smith, William		1	
Smith, Solomon	440		
Smith, Daniel		1	
Smith, Samuel		1	
Scott, John esq	1000	1	2
Schell, Arnold	450		
Smalling, Solomon	100	1	
Schell, Joseph	250	1	
Schell, Andrew	100	1	
Sigler, Henry	225	1	
Smith, Samuel, Sr	900	1	1
Shelby, Catharine	200		3
Sircle [?], George	150	1	
Sells [?], Solomon	165	2	
Shaw, Michal		1	
Shelby, Isaac		1	
Shelly, Peter	250	1	1
Snodgrass, William	1100	1	2
Shrite, Henry	528	1	
Smith, George	201		
Slaughter, Jacob	125	1	1
Smith, George, Jr.		1	
Stevenson, Nicholas	203	1	
Sylvester, Joseph		1	
Snider, Michal	133	1	
Sands, Michal		1	
Shelby, John, Jr.	500	1	3
Shipley, Samuel	224	1	1
Shelby, John Sr.	640		4
Stipes, Jacob		1	
Shoemaker, Thomas		1	
Smith, Joseph	200	1	
Sampson, Emanuel	118	1	
Smalling, Thomas	105	1	
Schultz, Jacob	100	1	
Sharpe, John	97	1	
Smith, James		1	
Taylor, Joseph B Smith		1	
Taylor, Joseph	482	1	

Names	[1]	[2]	[3]
Taylor, Jeremiah, Jr.	200	1	2
Tally, John	603	1	
Taylor, Isaac	33	1	
Taylor, Stephen	300	1	
Taylor, Archibald		1	
in Sumner county	1200		
Tabury [?], Thomas	257	1	
Titsworth, Thomas	347		3
Thomas, George		1	
Taylor, John	107	1	
Taylor, Daniel		1	
Tynor, Lewis		1	
Titsworth, Thomas		1	
Thomas, John		1	
Thomas, James		1	
Tussey, Jacob	200	1	
Thomas, Jacob	250	1	
Tredway, Allan		1	
Torbet, John	435	1	
Torbet, Alexander, Jr.		1	
Torbet, Alexander	100	1	
Vincent, George	404	1	1
Vincent, Thomas	136	1	
Vance, John esqr	400	1	1
Vandeventer, Abram	116	1	
Waggener, Michal	200	1	
Wolfe, George	269	1	
Weeks, Zachariah	143	1	
Wyley, William	150	1	
Whitlock, Alexander	260	2	
Wheeler, James	600		1
Waggener, John		1	
Weaver, Christian	300	1	
Webb, Benjamin	440	1	
Wartmiller, John	200	1	
Weaver, Jacob	313	1	2
Ware, James		1	
Weeks, John	146		
Wolf, Charles	100	1	
Warden, David		1	
Warren, John	35		
Wright, David			2
Weaver, Frederick	643	1	
Warring, Edmund	300	2	
Waggener, Henry		1	
Wallin, Stephen	100	1	
Webb, David	281½		
Webb, George	306½	1	
Webb, Benjamin	306½	1	
Webb, Jonathan	287½	1	
Wallace, Joseph esq.	300	1	
Williams, Peter		1	
Wadley, Thomas	100	1	
Webb, Moses		1	
Williams, Thomas		1	
Williams, Balis		1	
Wiseman, Samuel		1	
Yokeley, John	481		
Yancey, esqr	450		2
Young, James	350		2
Omitted			
Allison, Robert esqr			
for Francis Allison	200		
Total amount of this			
Roll	118,135	516	196

Taxes

276 Dollars
64 Cents
3 Mills

I certify the above is a

A copy from the original Roll and agreeable to the returns delivered to me except a Small omission in some part of Mr. John Rhea's Tax which cannot be rectified for want of the original roll.

Matthew Rhea C.S.C.
16 August 1797

Errors except

WRITINGS ON TENNESSEE HISTORY, 1958

Compiled by Pollyanna Creekmore

Abbott, Martin, ed. A mountain school in Tennessee: some reconstruction letters. (Tenn. hist. qr. Mar. '58. v. 17: 70-73.)

Ancient meetinghouse has quaint history. (Tenn. conser. Dec. '58. v. 24: 6-7, 19.) [Strothers Meetinghouse at Scarritt College]

Alderman, Pat and Andrews, Bernie. The overmountain men. Erwin, the authors, 1958. 61p. illus. $2.25.

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Biel, John G. The battle of Shiloh: from the letters and diary of Joseph Dimmit Thompson. (Tenn. hist. qr. Sept. '58. v. 17: 250-74.)

Braden, Guy B. The Colberts and the Chickasaw nation. (Tenn. hist. qr. Sept.-Dec. '58. v. 17: 222-49, 318-35.)

Bristow, Eugene K. The low varieties program in Memphis, 1865-1873. (Qr. Jour. Speech. Dec. '58.)

Brooks, H. K. and Tiedemann, H. A. The Cherokee bluff cavern—legend and fact. (Jour. of Tenn. academy of science. Jan. '58. v. 33: 24-31.)

Brownlow, Louis. A passion for anonymity. The autobiography of Louis Brownlow: second half. Chicago, Univ. of Chicago press, 1958. x, 499p. $7.50. [Knoxville city manager.]

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Buck, Capt. Irving A., C. S. A. Cleburne and his command. Ed. by Thomas Robson Hay. Foreword by Bell Irvin Wiley. Jackson, McCowat-Mercer press. 1958. 378 p. $6.00.

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Castel, Albert. The Fort Pillow massacre: A fresh examination of the evidence. (Civil War hist. Mar. '58.)

Clack, Tommie, and Sharp, J. A. Tennessee pioneers: Spencer Clack (1746-1832). (E.T.H.S. Echoes. May '58. v. 8:91-92.)

Coppock, Paul R. Parks of Memphis. (West Tenn. hist. soc. Papers no. 12: 120-33.)

Corbitt, D. C. and Roberta, eds. Papers from the Spanish archives relating to Tennessee and the old Southwest, XXII, Mar.-Apr., 1793. (East Tenn. hist. soc. Pubs. no. 30: 96-103.)

Creekmore, Mrs. Betsey Beeler. Knoxville. Knoxville, Univ. of Tenn. press, 1958. 308p. $4.00.

Creekmore, Pollyanna, comp. Early East Tennessee taxpayers, VI. Carter county, 1796. (East Tenn. hist. soc. Pubs. no. 30: 104-11.)

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Davidson, Donald. Southern writers in the modern world. Athens, Univ. of Ga. press, 1958. xi, 76 p. $2.50.

Davis, John H. St. Mary's Cathedral, Memphis. Jackson, McCowat-Mercer press, 1958. 264 p. Illus.

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Folmsbee, Stanley J. and Catron, Anna Grace. David Crockett in Texas. (East Tenn. hist. soc. Pubs. no. 30: 48-74.)

Foote, Shelby. The Civil War, A narrative: Fort Sumter to Perryville. New York, Random house, 1958. 840 p. $10.00.

Ginger, Ray. Six days or forever? Tennessee v. John Thomas Scopes. Boston, Beacon press, 1958. x, 258 p. $3.95.

Ginn, Mrs. Douglas J. As I saw it: seventy years history of Tennessee woman's missionary union. Nashville, Woman's missionary union, Auxiliary to the Tennessee Baptist convention [1958]. 113 p. illus. 20cm.

Grantham, Dewey W., Jr. Dinner at the White House: Theodore Roosevelt, Booker T. Washington, and the South. (Tenn. hist. qr. June '58. v. 17: 112-30.)

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Jewell, W. B. Beginning of the sandstone industry, Cumberland county, Tenn. (Jour. of Tenn. acad. of science. July '58. v. 33: 260-61.)

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Kegel, Charles H. ed. Earl Miller's "Recollections of the Ruskin cooperative association." (Tenn. hist. qr. Mar. '58. v. 17: 45-69.)

Kegel, Charles H. Ruskin's St. George in America. (Amer. qr. Winter '57. v. 9: 412-20.)

Kelley, Paul. Historic Fort Loudoun. Vonore, Tenn., Fort Loudoun Assoc., 1958. v, 42 p. illus., maps. 50c.

Kyle, John H. The building of the TVA: an illustrated history. Baton Rouge. La. state univ. press, 1958. 162 p. $7.50.

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McClary, Ben Harris. William Brimage Bate: "a southern poet"? (Tenn. hist. qr. Sept. '58. v. 17: 275-77.)

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Merrill, James M., ed. "Nothing to eat but raw bacon": letters from a war correspondent, 1862. (Tenn. hist. qr. June '58. v. 17: 141-55.)

Miles, Edwin A. Andrew Jackson and George Poindexter. (Jour. So. hist. Feb. '58. v. 24: 51-66.)

Miller, Mary E. A folklore survey of Dickson County, Tennessee. (Tenn. folklore soc. bul. June '58. v. 24: 57-71.)

Mitchell, Enoch L. College life in ante-bellum Tennessee. (West Tenn. hist. soc. Papers. no. 12: 5-40.)

Moneymaker, Berlen C. Earthquakes in Tennessee and nearby sections of neighboring states—1926-1950. (Journal of Tenn. acad. of sci. July '58. v. 33: 224-39.)

Newcomer, Lee N The battle of Memphis. (West Tenn. hist. soc. Papers. no. 12: 41-57.)

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Nuckolls, John B. West Tennessee Indian mounds draw tourists. (Tenn. conser. June '58. v. 24: 14-15.)

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Robertson, James I., Jr. Frolics, fights and firewater in frontier Tennessee. (Tenn. hist. qr. June '58. v. 17: 97-111.)

Rogers, E. G. Union loyalists in Tennessee. (Lincoln Herald. Winter 1957-8. v. 59: 22-25.)

Roland, Charles P. Albert Sidney Johnston and the Shiloh campaign. (Civil War hist. Dec. '58.)

Ross, Fitzgerald. Cities and camps of the Confederate states, ed. by Richard Barksdale Harwell. Urbana, Univ. of Ill. press, 1958. xxii, 262 p. $4.50.

Royal, Margaret Shaw. Andrew Johnson—presidential scapegoat: A biographical re-evaluation. New York, Exposition press, 1958. 175 p. $3.50.

Rothrock, Mary U. Mrs. Calvin M. McClung. (East Tenn. hist. soc. Pubs. no. 30: 3-6.)

Savage, Horace C. Life and times of Bishop Isaac Lane. Nashville, Nashville publication co., 1958. 240 p. $3.90.

Sanderson, Esther Sharp. County Scott and its mountain folk. Huntsville, Tenn., the author, 1958. vi, 254 p. illus. $5.00.

Scroggs, Jack B. Southern reconstruction: a radical view. (Jour. So. hist. Nov. '58. v. 24: 407-29.)

Sellers, Charles Grier, Jr. Andrew Jackson versus the historians. (Miss. Valley hist. rev. Mar. '58. v. 44: 615-34.)

Sevier, John. The commission book of Governor John Sevier, 1796-1801. Nashville, Tenn. hist. comm., 1957. 68 p.

State historian lauded for voluminous review of governor's messages. (Tenn. conser. April '58. v. 24: 4-5.)

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Story of the state capitol. (Tenn. conser. Nov. '58. v. 24: 10-11, 23.)

Swint, Henry Lee. The historical activities of the state of Tennessee. (Tenn. hist. qr. Dec. '58. v. 17: 291-300.)

Tennessee historical commission. Tennessee historical markers erected by the Tennessee historical commission. 4th ed. [Nashville], 1958. 183 p. illus.

Tennessee historical commission. The House journal of the first session of the thirty-fourth general assembly of the state of Tennessee. Nashville, 1957. 509 p.

Tennessee state library and archives. State library division. A list of Tennessee state publications. Jan. '58. 56 p. no. 5. Nashville.

Trimble, Otis M. and Criley, Walter L. Reelfoot: plan for comprehensive development. Nashville, State planning comm., Publications no. 29, 1958, 85 p.

Van Noppen, Ina Woestemeyer. The South, a documentary history. Princeton, D. Van Nostrand Co., 1958. xvi, 564 p. $6.75.

Webb, George W. The sandstone industry of Crossville—Crab orchard district, Tennessee. (Jour. of Tenn. academy of science. Jan. '58. v. 33: 89-100.)

Whittington, Earl Ligon. A history of the Young Men's Christian Association in Memphis and Shelby county. (West Tenn. hist. soc. Papers. no. 12: 109-19.)

Wiley, Bell Irvin, ed. "This Infernal War": the Confederate letters of Sgt. Edwin H. Fay. Austin, Univ. of Texas press, 1958. viii, 474 p. illus. $6.00.

Wilson, Charles W., Jr. and Stearns, Richard G. Structure of the Cumberland plateau, Tennessee. Nashville, Division of geology, 1958. (Tenn. Division of geology. Report of investigations no. 8, pp. 1283-96.)

Wingfield, Marshall. Tennessee's Mormon massacre. (Tenn. hist. qr. Mar. '58. v. 17: 19-36.)

Young, Mary E. Indian removal and land allotment: the civilized tribes and Jacksonian justice. (Amer. hist. rev. Oct. '58. v. 64: 31-45.)

UNPUBLISHED MASTER'S THESES, 1958

Emory University

Fuller, Justin. History of the Tennessee coal, iron, and railroad company, 1852-1907.

Memphis State University

Bronaugh, Mae M. The Crump-Browning political feud, 1937-1938.

Phillipe, Virginia M. Rowlett Paine's first term as mayor of Memphis, 1920-1924.

Middle Tennessee State College

Willett, Ann Wilson. A history of Stone's river military park.

University of Tennessee

Alvis, Glenn Lewis. A comparative study of the McMinn academy with the Rogersville high school.

Corry, Claud B. What six child-caring institutions in Tennessee are doing to meet the emotional needs of the adolescent child.

Dodge, Richard Larimore. Factors influencing the development of the Broadway shopping center at Knoxville, Tennessee.

Hays, Willard Murrell. Andrew Johnson's reputation: a study of changing interpretations.

Hersh, Alan M. The development of the iron industry in East Tennessee.

Hind, James Fox. The history of transportation advertising, 1850-1956, and a study of its importance in Knoxville, Tennessee.

Keeler, Charles F. A study of committee procedure in a community organization project to evaluate services for children in Davidson county, Tennessee.

Ladd, Robert A. The development of education in Roane county, Tennessee.

Lomenick, Thomas F. The geology of the Chickamauga group of a portion of Raccoon valley, Knox county, Tennessee.

McCallum, Malcolm Ernest. The geology of the eastern half of the Jacksboro quadrangle, Campbell county, Tennessee.

McGinnis, John T. Forest litter and humus types of East Tennessee.

Marshall, Jim Beaumont. A descriptive study of the fiscal administration of county roads in Tennessee.

Peake, Charles Franklin. After the shutdown: the Knoxville experience.

Sherman, Harry Logan. The vegetation and floristics of five gorges of the Cumberland plateau.

Sierk, Herbert Allen. The collemataccae of Tennessee.

Steiner, Robert Lynn. Evaluation of geochemical methods of prospecting for manganese in northeastern Tennessee.

Stradley, William. A study of local sources of support of local governmental agencies in twenty-three selected Tennessee counties.

Veal, Cora T. The development of education in Monroe county, Tennessee.

Walters, Joe Parks. The marble industry of the Knoxville area.

Whitaker, John Ulan. Influence of the governors on education in Tennessee, 1937-1957.

Vanderbilt University

Poole, Charles Harold. Thomas O. Summers: a biographical study.

UNPUBLISHED DOCTORAL DISSERTATIONS, 1958

Peabody College

Deming, Raymond M. Hardeman county: its origin and economic development.

University of Tennessee

Haynes, Albert Ford. A study of undergraduate professional education at Memphis State University.

Hyder, Samuel P. A study of the holding power of the Elizabethton community schools.

Long, Oddest H. Root development of farm crops in Tennessee.

Stradley, William. A study of local sources of support of local governmental agencies in twenty-three selected Tennessee counties.

BOOK NOTICES

Books to be noticed will be those bearing directly or indirectly upon some phase or phases of the history of Tennessee. There is no intention of reviewing books critically; the purpose of the *Publications* will be served in supplying bibliographical data and in indicating something of the nature of the subject matter.

The Natural and Aboriginal History of Tennessee, Up to the First Settlement by the White People in the Year 1768. By John Haywood. Edited, with an introductory sketch of the author, by Mary U. Rothrock. (Jackson, Tenn.: Published for the editor by McCowat-Mercer Press, Inc., 1959. Pp. xxxii, 438. Illustrations, maps, annotations, index. $20.00.)

"*The Natural and Aboriginal History of Tennessee* has been practically unavailable for one hundred thirty-five years. This edition presents it again essentially as John Haywood wrote it and George Wilson printed it in 1823. As Tennessee's first history, the book will always be indispensable; but its unique and distinctive value lies in Haywood's close observation and his minute descriptions of the Tennessee of 1823, and with the passing years these have grown increasingly valuable to natural scientists.

"Some eccentricities of spelling and punctuation have been corrected for the sake of readability. Paging of the original edition is retained in brackets [ ]. Running titles and an index are supplied, to make the subject content more readily available. Haywood's footnotes are indicated by superior numbers. Except for the Bible references, most of his citations are incomplete and cannot be identified. Nevertheless readers who want to know more about the secular books which furnish the background of Haywood's work will find them listed on page 430. Annotations supplied for this edition are indicated by superior letters and begin on page 411." (Foreword.)

Messages of the Governors of Tennessee. Vol. V. *1857-1869.* By Robert H. White. (Nashville: The Tenn. Historical Commission, 1959. Pp. xi, 728. Illustrations, footnotes, appendix, indexes. $4.00.)

"Controversy and conflict comprise the major portion of Volume V of the *Messages of the Governors of Tennessee, 1857-1869.* This was the period in our National history wherein social and economic factors led to the 'irrepressible conflict' that embroiled the Nation in a four-year internecine war in which over six hundred thousand lives were snuffed out. The first half of the volume portrays the significant steps leading up to Tennessee's withdrawal from the Union, while the latter half deals with the Reconstruction Era in Tennessee which increased and intensified the hostilities engendered by the war." (Preview.)

Colonial and Revolutionary History of Upper South Carolina, Embracing for the Most Part the Primitive and Colonial History of the Territory Comprising the Original County of Spartanburg with a General Review of the Entire Military Operations in the Upper Portion of South Carolina and Portions of North Carolina. By J. B. O. Landrum. (Spartanburg: The Reprint Company, [1958]. Pp. 364. Maps, footnotes. $5.50.)

This is an exact photo reproduction of the original book, published in Greenville, 1897. In view of the inclusion of the background of the building of

Ft. Loudoun and accounts of Revolutionary campaigns in which Tennesseans were engaged, this work is of considerable value for Tennessee history.

East Tennessee University, 1840-1879: Predecessor of the University of Tennessee. By Stanley J. Folmsbee. (Knoxville: The University of Tennessee Press, The University of Tennessee *Record,* Vol. 62, No. 3, May, 1959. Pp. 143. Frontispiece, footnotes, index. Free on request.)

"The University of East Tennessee (as it was sometimes called), still remained [in 1879], as its name implied, largely an East Tennessee university. Like its predecessors, Blount and East Tennessee Colleges, it was one of many small, local, classical schools [in the state]. It differed from the others largely in maintaining its non-sectarian character, but at the serious cost of being involved in many sectarian controversies. . . .

"East Tennessee University . . . was able to profit from the loyalty of this section of the state [during the Civil War] and obtain . . . from the legislature of the Reconstruction period the assignment of the federal land grant for agricultural and mechanical arts education. . . . Thus there was appended to the classical school the State Agricultural and Industrial College, but the major emphasis . . . remained on the traditional type of classical education. The most obvious change was the establishment of a military department, as required by the Morrill Act, and for many years the University did not differ much in outward appearance from the United States Military Academy. . . .

"Gradually . . . patronage expanded . . . ; sectionalistic feelings . . . subsided; and state-wide recognition came with re-incorporation as 'The University of Tennessee' in 1879." (Summary.)

Arrows to Atoms: The Story of East Tennessee. By Betsey Creekmore. (Knoxville: The University of Tennessee Press, 1959. Pp. 142. Illustrations, map. $1.35.)

This is a reprinting of selected chapters of Mrs. Creekmore's full-length book, *Knoxville,* published by the University of Tennessee Press in 1958.

Henry Knox; General Washington's General. By North Callahan. (New York: Rinehart and Co., 1958. Pp. xi, 404. Frontispiece, bibliographical notes, index. $6.00.)

"Henry Knox, is, of course, familiar to scholars in the fields of history and government. To the layman, he is virtually unknown. The purpose of this volume is to rescue him from near-oblivion and to place him in his proper perspective as one of the founders of our nation. But this story is not of Henry Knox alone. It is also intended to tell the history of his times as experienced, and made, by Knox, and often as seen through his own keenly observing eyes. Besides being one of the most important generals of the American Army in the Revolution, he served with Hamilton and Jefferson in the cabinet of George Washington, and was probably closer personally to our first commander-in-chief and President than any other man except Lafayette. . . .

"Nor did he confine his vigorous activity to the big guns to which he was physically so similar. He became a fine administrator, an original planner of lasting things, a dreamer of expansive dreams. As Washington's Secretary of War, he continued his leadership in civilian life and the results of his labors are a valuable legacy. Knox strove with great persistence and success to settle the disturbing problem of the Indians in the South and West. The period in which he lived, 1750-1806, was the vitally formative time of our nation. . . ." (Foreword).

Christ Church Episcopal, Rugby, Tennessee: A Short History. By Patricia Guion Wickmann. (N.P.: Privately printed, 1959. Pp. 47. Illustrations.)

"There has been so much written about the settlement of Rugby that in this brief history of Christ Church I will not attempt to do more than sketch the background for the picture of this beautiful little building, which I here present in the hope it will answer some of the many questions asked about it, and, perhaps, help to keep green the memory of those who brought it into existence." (Preface.)

Soldiers of the War of 1812 Buried in Tennessee. Compiled by Mary Hardin McCown and Inez E. Burns. (Johnson City, Tenn.: The Tennessee Society U. S. D. of 1812, 1959. Pp. ix, 156. $7.75.)

"The compilation of these records has covered a period of more than thirty years, during which time some research has been made into the history of the heroic deeds of those who helped to mould this nation between the close of the American Revolution and the close of the War of 1812-15. . . .

"Every available record which might reveal some data has been consulted. In addition to research in published and manuscript materials in many private and public libraries and court records, a great amount of data has been gathered from people—from those interested folk who remember the stories handed down by word of mouth from one generation to the following ones—It is they who do much to preserve the history of our great nation." (Foreword.)

Abraham Lincoln and Cumberland Gap. By David James Harkness. (Knoxville: The University of Tennessee *News Letter,* Vol. XXXVIII, No. 2, April, 1959. Published for The Division of University Extension. Pp. 31.)

Included are five essays: "Lincoln in Tennessee," "Lincoln in Fiction," "Lincoln in Drama," "Lincoln's Tastes in Fiction," and "Cumberland Gap in Literature."

A Guide to the Study and Reading of Tennessee History. By William T. Alderson and Robert H. White. (Nashville: The Tennessee Historical Commission, 1959. Pp. viii, 87. $1.00.)

"This book is the outgrowth of an increasing number of requests in recent years for some sort of guide to the many articles and books on Tennessee history. Some of these requests have come from students who wanted to delve more deeply into the rich lore of Tennessee's past; other requests have been from teachers who wanted help in directing their students to the best printed materials on Tennessee history; still other requests have come from people of this state and of other states who wanted to learn more about Tennessee." (Foreword.)

A List of Tennessee State Publications, No. 6. Compiled and issued by State Library Division, Tennessee State Library and Archives. (Nashville: January, 1959. (Mimeographed.)

This includes all Tennessee State imprints received by the State Library during 1958 and a few of January, 1959.

The Civil War in the Making, 1815-1860. By Avery O. Craven. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, The Walter Lynwood Fleming Lectures in Southern History, 1959. Pp. xiv, 115. $3.00.)

"In this brilliant analysis of the prologue to the drama of the Civil War, Professor Craven presents striking parallels to our twentieth-century world. For behind the long-accepted 'causes' of the war lie the forces which created the Modern World in the years after 1830. It was these forces which brought on the great clash." (Jacket.)

Kate: The Journal of a Confederate Nurse. By Kate Cumming. Edited by Richard Barksdale Harwell. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1959. Pp. xx, 321. Illustrations, footnotes, index. $6.00.)

"One of the best personal narratives by Southern women writers, this journal gives a close and intimate picture of life in Confederate hospitals and behind the lines of Civil War action.

"The document is full of accurate detail—names, places, dates. Further, Miss Cumming's personal charm, her touching vignettes of wartime life, and her insight into the many problems of the Confederate Medical Service enhance the sometimes grim facts of hospital life.

"Kate Cumming was in an ideal position to view simultaneously the soldier's life, civilian attitudes, medical practices, and the administrative workings of the Confederate hospital system, and she described all with fidelity, wit and unusual perception. Particularly important is her inclusive description of the remarkable system of mobile hospitals developed by Dr. S. H. Stout. . . .

"First published in 1866, this valuable narrative has long been out of print. Now reissued with an illuminating introduction by Mr. Harwell, it will take an important place beside the journals of women such as Kate Stone, Phoebe Pember, Florence Nightingale, and Clara Barton." (Jacket.)

She spent some time in 1862-63 at Chattanooga.

Hoke Smith and the Politics of the New South. By Dewey W. Grantham, Jr. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, *Southern Biography Series,* 1958. Pp. 396. Footnotes, critical essay on authorities, index, frontispiece. $5.00.)

"Cutting across the Bourbon Era, the Populist Revolt, and the Progressive Movement, Hoke Smith's career gave expression to the Southern politics of his generation. In *Hoke Smith and the Politics of the New South,* Dewey Grantham examines in detail the central role of this leader as a key to the better understanding of the political mind of the New South." (Jacket.)

Reluctant Rebel: The Secret Diary of Robert Patrick, 1861-1865. Edited by F. Jay Taylor. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State Univ. Press, 1959. Pp. xiii, 271. Illustrations, maps, footnotes, appendix, index. $5.00.)

"This articulate and practical-minded young Louisianian gives us a colorful succession of experiences, both on and off duty, which never became part of the official records.

"With undoctored realism he describes the siege around Port Hudson and Vicksburg, the Battle of Shiloh, and the retreat from Atlanta. Especially interesting are his comments on logistics, supply, and the ability of supply officers, relatively unknown quantities in Confederate history.

"He also describes civilian conditions in areas near army camps and along the route of march, as well as the tragic flight of a civilian population suffering from the headlong retreat of one army and horrified at the advance of another. He renders powerfully the looting, destitution, and the effects of the war on the morals of Confederate women." (Jacket.)

Louisiana, the Pelican State. By Edwin Adams Davis. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1959. Pp. xi, 356. Illustrations, maps, index. $4.95.)

"This new history of Louisiana is the only current and comprehensive account of the state now available. In one volume this work tells the story of the land and its people from the earliest inhabitants to the present day." (Jacket.)

The Whigs of Florida, 1845-1854. By Herbert J. Doherty, Jr. (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, Social Science Monographs, No. 1, Winter, 1959. Pp. 73. Footnotes, map, bibliographical note. $2.00.)

This work is of interest to Tennesseans in that there are many similarities between the history of the Whig party in Florida and in Tennessee.

The Territorial Papers of the United States. Volume XXIV. *The Territory of Florida, 1828-1834.* (Washington, D. C., 1959. Pp. v, 1143. Illustrations, footnotes, index. $8.00.)

In view of the number of Tennesseans who were active in Florida, this work is of considerable interest to Tennesseans.

The Baylis Family of Virginia. Compiled by Mrs. Willetta Baylis Blum and Dr. William Blum, Sr. (Washington 8, D.C.: Printed by Shenandoah Publishing House, Inc., Strasburg, Va. Pp. xiii, 669. Illustrations, indexes. $10.00.)

"This book is the direct result of the interest in family genealogy of the 'senior' author, Willetta Baylis (Blum), 113,167, over a period of more than 50 years. Information given to her as a child by her parents and other relatives was entered into her notebooks. Naturally much of this information was fragmentary, with few dates, but it served as a basis and stimulus for more detailed searches and inquiries, the result of which are incorporated in this text." (Introduction.)

Some of the Descendants of Rev. Richard Denton. By Edythe Whitley. (McMinnville, Tenn.: Womack Printing Company, 1959. Pp. 94. $9.50.)

"This modest little book is not intended as a comprehensive history of the Denton family, but the story of one branch of the family from the emigrant Rev. Richard Denton to the present generation in Middle Tennessee." (Foreword.)

Genealogy of the Dodson (Dotson), Lucas, Pyles, Rochester, and Allied Families. By S. Emmett Lucas, Jr. (Birmingham, Ala.: Privately printed, 1959. Pp. 241. $8.00.)

"This book, though not a complete genealogy of any of the four main families is as complete as I have been able to make it in five short years of research. It is hoped that what I have compiled and put into print will be an impetus to other relatives, to someday carry my research farther back into history on all of the families concerned." (Preface.)

The Joseph Hunter and Related Families. By Stephen Ben and Mary Amanda Medley Hunter, edited by Felix Eugene Snider. (Cape Girardeau, Mo.: Ramfre Press, 1959. Pp. 175. Illustrations, index.)

"The mass of genealogical and biographical material included in this volume represents more than a quarter century of time, thousands of miles of travel, many, many hours of meticulous work, and the financial subsidy of its editing and publication on the part of Mr. and Mrs. Stephen B. Hunter. That it has been a hobby and a labor of love detracts not at all from its interest and value, not only to the Hunters and their related families but to all who are appreciative of the history of our part of the country." (Editor's Preface.)

The Roots and Some of the Branches of the Puckett Family Tree. By Christine South Gee. (Greenwood, S. C., Privately printed, 1958. Pp. vii, 136. $4.00.)

"It gives me pleasure to present to my family the result of my efforts to gather material printed in this little book. Those of you who purchase a copy are paying only for the printing. The search for the material has been carried on over a period of about twenty years, with more concentrated efforts during the last six years." (Foreword.)

NOTES AND NEWS, 1958

Programs of the Society

JANUARY. "Views of the Tennessee Country from Early Maps," by Berlen C. Moneymaker, of Knoxville, Chief Geologist, Tennessee Valley Authority.

FEBRUARY. "The Andrew Johnson Papers Project," by Leroy P. Graf and Ralph W. Haskins, University of Tennessee, Knoxville.

MARCH. "The History of Tennessee Wesleyan College," by LeRoy A. Martin, President, Tennessee Wesleyan College, Athens.

APRIL. *A Different Valor: the Story of General Joseph E. Johnston, C.S.A.,* reviewed by the authors, Gilbert E. Govan and James W. Livingood, University of Chattanooga.

MAY. The Society held its annual out-of-town meeting in Morristown on Saturday, May 3, with the Hamblen County members as hosts. The members of the Committee on Local Arrangements with Mr. George Sevier Hale, Jr., chairman, were Miss Sarah Dougherty, Mrs. Feamster Taylor, Miss Meta Goodson, and Mrs. Margaret Helms Richardson.

After gathering at the Whitesburg Baptist Church at 2:00 P.M., a cavalcade of some forty cars made a tour of seven places of historic interest: Whitesburg Baptist Church, Bent Creek Cemetery, Russellville Methodist Church, Bethesda Cemetery and Church, Old Barton Home and Spring, Crockett Tavern, St. Paul Presbyterian Church, and "Rural Mount," the Joseph Hamilton home.

A dinner meeting was held at the Memorial Recreation Center at 6:30 P.M. Mayor Frank Davis of Morristown presided. Mrs. Helen Topping Miller spoke on "Hamblen County and the Civil War" with interesting sidelights on the history of her home. H. E. Williams talked of "Homes with a History," and Mrs. Margaret Helms Richardson gave the history of Panther Springs and its Academy. Miss Meta Goodson showed colored slides of the construction of the Crockett Tavern with running comment.

Members from ten counties were present.

OCTOBER. A dinner meeting was held at the Carolyn P. Brown Memorial University Center on Saturday, October 4. Miss Madeline Kneberg, professor of Anthropology at the University of Tennessee, spoke on "The Problems of Reconstruction of Prehistoric Life from Archæological Evidence."

The next day, Sunday, October 5, the Society sponsored a tour to Rugby, located in Morgan County, Tennessee. Mr. and Mrs. Hugo J. Wichmann and other Rugby residents were hosts. Among the places visited were Christ Church, the Hughes Public Library, the Cemetery, "Kingston Lisle," "The Lindens," and "Uffington House." At 3:30 P.M. evening prayer was held in Christ Church by the Reverend William P. Zion of St. Andrews Church, Harriman.

Approximately 200 persons visited Rugby during the day.

NOVEMBER. "Some Interesting Sidelights on Jefferson County," by Professor J. C. Brashear, of Carson-Newman College, Jefferson City.

DECEMBER. "The Reputation of Andrew Johnson," by Willard Hayes, graduate student at the University of Tennessee.

At this meeting the following officers were re-elected for the year 1959: president, James Burn, Niota; vice-presidents: for Knoxville area: Mrs. Henry R. Duncan; Upper East Tennessee: W. Flinn Rogers, Johnson City; Lower East Tennessee: Z. Cartter Patten, Chattanooga; secretary: Pollyanna Creekmore, Lawson McGhee Library; treasurer: R. C. d'Armand, Knoxville; members of the executive committee: Paul Kelley, Mary U. Rothrock, and Marshall A. Wilson, all of Knoxville. Elected to succeed I. N. Carr of Jefferson City and Laura Luttrell of Knoxville as members of the committee were L. R. Ahern, Jr., of Kingsport, and Mrs. Park Niceley, Knoxville. Stanley J. Folmsbee and LeRoy P. Graf, University of Tennessee, were re-elected managing editor and associate editor of the *Publications,* and Prentiss Price, Rogersville, editor of *Echoes.* Thomas B. Alexander, University of Alabama, and Mary U. Rothrock, Knoxville, were elected as members of the board of editors for terms of three years.

Other News

The McClung Award, given annually by Mrs. C. M. McClung of Knoxville to the contributor of the best article in the Society's annual *Publications,* was awarded for the year 1958 to Mrs. Leota Driver Maiden for her "Colonel John Williams." The judges were Wallace E. Davies, University of Pennsylvania, and Ralph W. Steen, Stephen F. Austin State College.

At the February meeting of the Chattanooga Area Historical Society, J. Eugene Lewis was elected president; T. O. Duff, Mrs. George Blackwell Smith, Sr., and Rye Bell, vice-presidents; Summerfield K. Johnson, secretary; and Z. Cartter Patten, treasurer.

On May 8, at the annual dinner meeting of the Tennessee Historical Society, at Traveler's Rest, Robert T. Quarles, Jr., was re-elected president, and Robert L. Kincaid, vice-president for East Tennessee.

At the annual membership meeting of the Fort Loudoun Association on April 14 at Knoxville, Charles F. Wayland, Jr., was elected president; Col. Floyd Watson, vice-president; Paul Kelley, secretary; George K. Preston, treasurer; and George Anderson, Elsworth Brown, Mrs. E. L. Bowman, Putt Bradford, Col. Floyd Watson, Z. Cartter Patten, Mrs. J. W. E. Moore, Mrs. Ralph Brown, and Arthur Fowler members of the board of directors. Late in June, Peter H. Kunkel, employed as archæologist by the Association, arrived and began excavations at the site to determine location and dimensions of the buildings preparatory to reconstruction. On August 24 the Tennessee Society, Sons of the Revolution, held a pilgrimage to the site of the fort. The Association acquired microfilm copies of some forty letters relating to Fort Loudoun in the Lyttleton Papers in the Clements Library, University of Michigan. They will be deposited in the McClung Collection, Lawson McGhee Library.

On January 6 the University of the South, at Sewanee, celebrated the centennial of the granting of its charter, with Governor Frank Clement delivering the main address.

A statue of Chief John Ross, principal chief of the Cherokee Nation for twenty-eight years and the founder of Ross' Landing, was unveiled in Hamilton County Court House square at Chattanooga, on March 30. Miss Zella Armstrong presided; Miss Nancy Jones, a direct descendant, did the unveiling; and Mayor Leon Ross Daniels of Tahlequa, Oklahoma, another direct descendant, was guest of honor.

The reconstructed John Crockett Tavern at Morristown, the boyhood home of David Crockett, was formally opened on April 16, with ex-Governor Jim Nance McCord, the state commissioner of conservation, delivering the dedication address. The restored tavern will be maintained as a museum.

On April 26 the restored home of President Andrew Johnson in Greeneville was opened to the public, with the regional director of the National Park Service, Elbert Cox, presiding. Addresses were delivered by Judge Robert L. Taylor and Representative B. Carroll Reece. Miss Corrine Patterson Colt, a descendant of Andrew Johnson, cut the ribbon for the formal opening.

Burton Jones of Chattanooga was made chairman of a Sons of the American Revolution committee to locate unmarked graves of Revolutionary War soldiers.

The East Tennessee Historical Society was well represented at the annual meeting of the Southern Historical Association at Nashville, November 6-8. Among the officers who attended one or more of the sessions were President James Burn, Vice-President W. Flinn Rogers, Secretary Pollyanna Creekmore, and Editors Stanley J. Folmsbee and LeRoy P. Graf. All six members of the board of editors also were present: Daniel M. Robison, W. Neil Franklin, Joseph H. Parks, Culver H. Smith, Weymouth T. Jordan, and Mary U. Rothrock (also a member of the executive committee).

One session of the meeting was devoted to the Tennessee Valley Authority. It was presided over by H. C. Nixon, Vanderbilt University, and included papers on "The Muscle Shoals Controversy, 1920-1932," by Preston J. Hubbard, Austin Peay State College; "TVA and the Development of Navigation on the Tennessee River," by Wilmon H. Droze, East Central (Oklahoma) State College; and "TVA and the Historian," by Bernard L. Foy, Tennessee Valley Authority. There was also a joint session with the Tennessee Historical Society, on the subject, "What Tennessee is Doing about her History." Philip M. Hamer, executive secretary of the National Historical Publications Commission and a former president and managing editor of the East Tennessee Historical Society, presided. Papers were read by Henry Lee Swint, Vanderbilt University, on "Historical Activities of the State of Tennessee," and by James E. Pike, Tennessee State Library and Archives, on "Tennessee's Newspaper Microfilming Program." The president of the Southern Historical Association, Walter B. Posey, Agnes Scott College and Emory University, the fourth consecutive native Tennessean to serve in this capacity, delivered as his presidential address at the annual dinner, "The Protestant Episcopal Church: An American Adaptation." Considerable attention was given to the growth of that denomination in Tennessee.

At the regular semiannual meeting of the Tennessee Historical Commission, December 4-5, Gilbert E. Govan of Chattanooga was elected as a member to succeed Robert L. Kincaid, resigned. The Commission consummated the purchase of "Cragfont," the historic home of General James Winchester, in Sumner County. It also recommended the purchase by the state of "Rocky Mount," the home of William Cobb, near Johnson City, the first capitol of the Southwest Territory; appropriated funds toward the cost of the monument to John Haywood, Tennessee's first historian; and formally requested that the site over the new Tunnel to the State Capitol be reserved for a monument to the three Tennessee Presidents.

Resolution

WHEREAS, state and local history are not required to be taught in the senior high schools of the state of Tennessee; and

WHEREAS, prospective teachers are not required to study Tennessee history before receiving teaching certificates; and

WHEREAS, we believe a knowledge of state and local history to be necessary to the education of the future leaders of the state; now,

THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED:

That the members of the East Tennessee Historical Society respectfully call upon the State Commissioner of Education, the State Board of Education, and local boards of education to encourage the study of state and local history in the schools of Tennessee and that we further call upon them to urge prospective teachers to take courses in Tennessee history as a part of their college preparation.

Respectfully submitted,

Paul Kelley, Chairman

Mrs. H. R. Duncan

James Burn

Adopted March 7, 1958

DIRECTORY OF CONTRIBUTORS

Willard Hays is instructor of history at West Texas State College.

John B. Clark, Jr., is assistant professor of history at Tennessee Polytechnic Institute.

Wesley M. Bagby is assistant professor of history at West Virginia University.

The Reverend Ralph W. Lloyd is president of Maryville College.

D. C. Corbitt is head of the Department of History and Government, Asbury College, Wilmore, Kentucky. His wife, Roberta Corbitt, assisted in the translations.

Grace Leab is associate professor of English at East Tennessee State College.

Charles Z. Roettger is a teaching assistant in history at the University of Tennessee and editorial assistant of the *Publications* of the East Tennessee Historical Society.

Ben H. McClary of Benton, Tennessee, is a teacher in the Bradley Central High School, Cleveland, Tennessee.

LeRoy P. Graf is professor of history at the University of Tennessee and associate editor of the *Publications* of the East Tennessee Historical Society.

Pollyanna Creekmore is librarian of the McClung Collection, Lawson McGhee Library and secretary of the East Tennessee Historical Society.

LIST OF MEMBERS

As of October 15, 1959

LIFE MEMBERS

Mrs. Dorothy DeVault Bicknell, Humboldt, Iowa
Fay W. Brabson, Staunton, Va.
Harvey Broome, Knoxville
James Burn, Niota
Grover C. Criswell, Pass-A-Grille Beach, Fla.
Stanley J. Folmsbee, Knoxville
W. Neil Franklin, Washington, D. C.
Mrs. Franklin Miller Handly, Knoxville
Miss Laura E. Luttrell, Knoxville
Mrs. C. M. McClung, Knoxville
Mrs. Cyrus Griffin Martin, Chattanooga
James Henderson Moran, IV, Kingsport
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INDEX*

Abbot, James, taxpayer, 115
Ackyard, Jacob, taxpayer, 115
Acoff, John, taxpayer, 115
Acoff, Timothy, taxpayer, 115
Adams, Macajah, taxpayer, 115
Agee, William, taxpayer, 115
Abraham Lincoln and the Cumberland Gap, by David James Harkness, noted, 130
Adair, John, 113
Adams, Elisha, taxpayer, 115
Adcock, Adam L., 90n
Adwell, John, taxpayer, 115
Alabama (steamer), Rosine Parmentier describes 1852 voyage on, 99-100, 111n
Alcudia, Duke of (Manuel de Godoy) 66n; letter to Carondelet (March 20, 1793), 69
Allen, Daniel, taxpayer, 115
Alderson, William T. and White, Robert H., *Guide to the Study and Reading of Tennessee History,* noted, 130
Allen, Charles, taxpayer, 115
Allen, Isaac W., 90n
Allen, James, taxpayer, 115
Allen, Mary J., 90
Allen, Walter, on Andrew Johnson, 6
Allixon, Francis, taxpayer, 121
Allison, John, taxpayer, 115
Allison, John, Sr., taxpayer, 115
Allison, Robert, taxpayer, 115
Ames, Rev. Charles, on Andrew Johnson, 5
Amidon, Samuel B., 44
Amos, Thomas, taxpayer, 115
Anderson, John, taxpayer, 113, 115
Anderson, Stuart, taxpayer, 115
Anderson, William, taxpayer, 115
Andrew Johnson, Military Governor of Tennessee, by Clifton R. Hall, 25
"Andrew Johnson's Reputation," by Willard Hays, 1-31
Anglin, Aaron, taxpayer, 115
Anthony, William, taxpayer, 115
Aranjuez, 69
Arkansas Post, 66
Arrows to Atoms; the Story of East Tennessee, by Betsey Creekmore, noted, 129
Armstrong, William, taxpayer, 115
Arrants, Harmon, taxpayer, 115
Arthur, Mr., of Polk County, 107
Arwine, James, taxpayer, 115
Ashworth, John, taxpayer, 115
Atkinson, William, 32
Atlanta, Rosine Parmentier describes in 1852, 101
Atlantic Monthly, early articles on Andrew Johnson, 56; prints excerpts from Gideon Welles' Diary, 15; series on Johnson (1901), 16-17
Autobiography of Seventy Years, by George F. Hoar, 14

Bachman, Samuel, taxpayer, 116
"Backbiting," in "A Good Templars 'Journal'," 87-88
Bagby, Wesley M., "William Gibbs McAdoo and the 1920 Democratic Presidential Nomination," 43-58
Baker, Charles, taxpayer, 115
Baker, Morris, taxpayer, 115
Baker, Ray S., 52
Barber, Liff, taxpayer, 116
Barber, Simon, taxpayer, 115
Barber property, 90; brothers, 90n
Barnard, John, taxpayer, 116
Barnes, Thurlow Weed, on Andrew Johnson, 8
Barnes, William, taxpayer, 115
Barry, Isaac E., 41
Bartholomew, Joseph, 36
Barton, Thomas, taxpayer, 115
Baruch, Bernard, 44, 49, 52, 53
Bas, Benjamin, taxpayer, 115
Basket, Richard, taxpayer, 115
Baton Rouge, 65, 81
Baum, Charles, 41
Bayer, Adele (nee Parmentier), 95; marries Edward Bayer, 95-96; visits Vineland in 1852, 96; Rosine Parmentier's journal of visit, 99-111; charitable endeavors after 1852, 97-98
Bayer, Edward, marries Adele Parmentier, 95-96; visits Vineland in 1852, 96; Rosine Parmentier's journal of visit, 99-111
Baylis Family of Virginia, comp. by Mrs. Willetta Baylis Blum and Dr. William Blum, Sr., noted, 132
Bayou Pierre, 64, 76
Beachboard, Benjn., taxpayer, 115
Bear, George, taxpayer, 115
Bear, Matthias, taxpayer, 115
Bear, Peter, taxpayer, 115
Beard, John, taxpayer, 115
Beard, Thomas, taxpayer, 115
Bearden, M. J., 41
Beaty, Andrew, taxpayer, 115
Beaty, James, taxpayer, 115
Beaver, Christn., taxpayer, 115

*Prepared by Doris Roettger. "Writings on Tennessee History," "Notes and News," and "List of Members" not included in this index.

Beeler, Peter, taxpayer, 115
Beelor, Daniel, taxpayer, 115
Beelor, George, taxpayer, 116
Beelor, Jacob, taxpayer, 116
Beelor, John, taxpayer, 115
Beelor, Joseph, taxpayer, 116
Beelor, Joseph, taxpayer, 115
Beelor, Woolery, taxpayer, 116
Big Creek, 108
Billing, John, taxpayer, 115
Birdwell, Benjamin, taxpayer, 115
Birdwell, John, taxpayer, 115
Birdwell, Joseph, taxpayer, 115
Birdwell, Mary, taxpayer, 115
Birdwell, Robert, taxpayer, 115
Bishop, John, taxpayer, 116
Bishop, Peter, taxpayer, 115
Bishop, Thomas, taxpayer, 115
Bishop, William, taxpayer, 115
Blaine, James G., on Andrew Johnson, 6-7
Bledsoe, Anthony, 113
Blevins, Armstead, taxpayer, 116
Blevins, Dillon, taxpayer, 116
Blevins, James, taxpayer, 116
Blevins, William, taxpayer, 116
Bloody Fellow (Cherokee) 70n, 71, 75, 81; letter from Gayoso (April 7, 1793), 77-78
Blount, William, 65, 65n, 70, 71
Blountville, Tenn., 112-13
Blum, Mrs. Willetta Baylis and Blum, Dr. William, Sr., *Baylis Family of Virginia,* noted, 132
Bolling, G. S., 41
Bond, Henry, taxpayer, 115
Bond, William, taxpayer, 115
"Book Notices," 128-32
Bougher, John, taxpayer, 116
Boukfouka, 69
Boutwell, George, on Andrew Johnson, 7
Bowen, Joseph, taxpayer, 115
Bowser, J. J., 41
Bowyer, Michal, taxpayer, 115
Bowry, Margaret, taxpayer, 115
Bowser, John, taxpayer, 115
Boy, Jacob, taxpayer, 116
Boyd, James, taxpayer, 115
Bradley, Jonathan, taxpayer, 116
Bradshaw, Thomas, taxpayer, 115
Bragg, Charles, taxpayer, 116
Bragg, David, taxpayer, 116
Bragg, Thomas, taxpayer, 116
Brennar, George R., 50, 54
Brigham, James, taxpayer, 113, 115
Brigham, John, taxpayer, 115
Brightbill, Peter, taxpayer, 116
Brittain, Abraham, taxpayer (2), 115
Brittain, Nathl, taxpayer, 115
Brittain, Richard, taxpayer, 116
Brooks, B. N., 90n
Brooks, James A., 90
Brooks, John, taxpayer, 115
Brown, C. M., 52
Brown, Gov. John C., vetoes local option bill, 84
Brown, William D., 89, 90
Browning, Roger, taxpayer, 115
Bryant, William, taxpayer, 116
Bryan, Ambrose, taxpayer, 115
Buchannan, William, taxpayer, 115
Buckles, John, taxpayer, 116
Bucknel, William, taxpayer, 116
Buckner, Presley, taxpayer, 115
Bunch, John M., 90
Burgess, John W., on Andrew Johnson, 18-19
Burk, John, taxpayer, 115
Burleson, Albert S., 44, 54-55
Burns, Inez E., and McCown, Mary Hardin, comps., *Soldiers of the War of 1812 Buried in Tennessee,* noted, 130
Burt, Alderman, 41
Butler, Benjamin F., on Andrew Johnson, 10
Butler, Elisha, taxpayer, 116

Cabbage, Adam, taxpayer, 116
Cabbage, John, taxpayer, 116
Cadets of Temperance, 83
Caffray, Richard, taxpayer, 116
Caler, Calor, Cayler, etc., see Kaler
Callahan, North, *Henry Knox: General Washington's General,* noted, 129
Callen, Andrew, 88, 89
Carondelet, Baron de, 63, 69n, 70n, 71n, 75, 80n; letter to Gayoso, 65-66; letter to Casas, 66-68; letter from Alcudia, 69; letter from McDonald, 70-71; letter from Milford, 79-80; letter from Panton, 80; letter from Gayoso, 81-82
Carr, Gilbert, taxpayer, 116
Carr, William, taxpayer, 116
Carrithers, Samuel, taxpayer, 116
Carroll, William, taxpayer, 116
Carson, Samuel, taxpayer, 116
Carter Lodge 535 (Good Templars), 85; 'Journal,' 87-94
Casas, Luis de las, 66n, 69n; letter from Carondelet (March 9, 1793), 66-68
Caswell, Richard, 113
Cate, E. R., 90n
Cavitt, John, taxpayer, 116
Cawood, John, Jr., taxpayer, 116
Central Railroad (of Georgia), Rosine Parmentier describes 1852 passage on, 100-101
Century, series on Andrew Johnson (1912-1913), 16-17
Chable, Alphonso A., 106, 107; family, 106n
Chadbourne, Thomas L., 52
Chadsey, Charles E., on Andrew Johnson, 10
Chance, Ezekiel, taxpayer, 116
Chase, Sarah, taxpayer, 116
Chattahoochee River bridge, 101
Chehaws (Indian village), 80
Cherokee Indians, 65, 70-71, 70n, 74, 75, 79n, 80-82
Chester, John, taxpayer, 116

Chestnut Ridge, 108
Chickasaw Bluffs, 65, 66, 66n, 67, 69
Chickasaw Indians, 63n, 65-69, 71-75, 77-82
Childress, David, taxpayer, 116
Childress, William, taxpayer, 116
Choctaw Indians, 64, 66n, 67, 73, 75, 78, 79, 81, 82
Chote, Benjamin, taxpayer, 116
Christ Church Episcopal, Rugby, Tennessee: A Short History, by Patricia Guion Wickmann, noted, 130
Chrisman, David, taxpayer, 116
Chrisman, John, taxpayer (2), 116
Christian, George, taxpayer, 116
Christian, Gilbert, 113, 113n
Christian, John, taxpayer, 116
Christian, Margaret, taxpayer, 116
Christian, Robert, taxpayer, 116
Christian, William, taxpayer, 116
Citciller (?), William, taxpayer, 116
City of Richmond (steamer), 99, 99n
Civil War in the Making, 1815-1860, by Avery O. Craven, noted, 130
Claiborne, William C. C., taxpayer, 116
Clark, Henry, 113
Clark, John B., Jr., "Fire Protection in Old Knoxville," 32-42
Clark, Nathaniel, 113
Clarke, James, taxpayer, 116
Clartauk (a Chickasaw), 65
Cleveland, Tenn., described by Rosine Parmentier in 1852, 101-02, 110-11
Cloud, Jeremiah, taxpayer, 116
Coffill, John, taxpayer, 116
Coker, Tannie, 87n
Colby, Bainbridge, 55, 57
Cole, Cornelius, on Andrew Johnson, 14
Cole, Elisha, taxpayer, 116
Cole, Joseph, 113
Cole, Joseph, Jr., taxpayer, 116
Colonial and Revolutionary History of Upper South Carolina, by J. B. O. Landrum, noted, 128-29
Combs, Nicholas, taxpayer, 116
Condry, Richard, taxpayer, 116
Conkin, George, taxpayer, 116
"Contributors," 137
Cooke, Joseph, taxpayer, 116
Cooper, Andrew, taxpayer, 116
Cooper, Caleb, taxpayer, 116
Cooper, John, taxpayer, 116
Cooper, Thomas, taxpayer, 116
Copeland, Dr. W. J., 102n
Copland, John, taxpayer, 116
Copland, William, taxpayer, 116
Copper Basin, 110n
Copper Road, 102n
Coppinger, Higgins, taxpayer, 116
Corbitt, D. C. and Roberta, eds., "Papers from the Spanish Archives Relating to Tennessee and the old Southwest," 63-82
Cotterell, John, taxpayer, 116
Cotterell, Lemuel, taxpayer, 116
Cowan, Nathaniel, 32
Cowan, Robert, taxpayer, 116
Cox, Edward, taxpayer, 116
Cox, Greenberry, taxpayer, 116
Cox, James M., 48, 54-57
Cox, Jeremiah, taxpayer, 116
Cox, Jesse, taxpayer, 116
Cox, Joshua, taxpayer, 116
Craft, Jesse, taxpayer, 116
Craft, Michael, taxpayer, 116
Craft, Michael, Sr., taxpayer, 116
Craft, Thomas, taxpayer, 116
Craighead, J. P. N., 39
Craighead, Robert, 32
Craigmiles, J. H., 110n
Craven, Avery O., *Civil War in the Making, 1815-1860,* noted, 130
Crawford, Mr., of Polk County, 109
Crawford, Hugh, taxpayer, 116
Creagan, Patrick, taxpayer, 116
Creek Indians, 63, 65-67, 67n, 68, 72-75, 77-78, 79n, 80-82
Creekmore, Betsey, *Arrows to Atoms: The Story of East Tennessee,* noted, 129
Creekmore, Pollyanna, comp., "Early East Tennessee Taxpayers, VII, Sullivan County, 1796," 112-21; "Writings on Tennessee History, 1958," 122-27
Creel, George, on Andrew Johnson, 25-26; 49
Creeley, Patrick, taxpayer, 116
Crockett, Andrew, taxpayer, 116
Crockett, Joseph, taxpayer, 116
Crockett, Samuel, taxpayer, 116
Crook, William H., on Andrew Johnson, 15
Cross, Abram, taxpayer, 116
Cross, Acquilla, taxpayer, 116
Cross, Elijah, taxpayer, 116
Cross, Joel, taxpayer, 116
Cross, William, taxpayer, 116
Crowder, William, taxpayer, 116
Crum, Henry, taxpayer, 116
Crumley, Daniel, taxpayer, 116
Crumley, George, taxpayer, 116
Cumberland, 66, 71
Cumming, Kate, journal of, noted, 131
Cummings, Homer, 57
Curten, John, taxpayer, 116

Dalton, Ga., 101, 111
Dalton, see Dolton
Daniel, W. C., 41
David, Richard, taxpayer, 116
Davies, John, taxpayer (2), 117
Davis, Edwin Adams, *Louisiana,* the *Pelican State,* noted, 131
Davis, John, 56
Davis, Joseph, 75, 87, 89, 90n
Davis, Mariana, 86
Davis, Paschal L., 90
Davis, William, 90n
Davisboro, Ga., 101
Davison, Agness, taxpayer, 117
Davison, John, taxpayer, 117
Davison, Samuel, taxpayer, 117

Davison, William, taxpayer, 117
De Grass, Mr., 64
Dearman, George, taxpayer, 117
Deitsch, Mary M., 108n
Delany, William, taxpayer, 117
Delino, Ignacio, 66n
Democratic National Convention, 1920, 43-58
Denton, James, taxpayer, 117
Denton, Joseph, taxpayer, 117
Denton, Rev. Richard, genealogy of, noted, 132
Derieux, Jesse, 89
Derieux, Jesse B., 90
Derieux, Henry C., 90
Derieux, Peter L., 89, 89n
Derieux, Sarah, 89
Depew, Chauncey, on Andrew Johnson, 14
Devault, Michael, taxpayer, 117
DeWitt, David Miller, on Andrew Johnson, 19
Diary and Letters of Rutherford B. Hayes, on Andrew Johnson, 14
Diary of Gideon Welles, on Andrew Johnson, 15-16
Dice, J. B. F., 87, 88, 90
Dietzsch, [Mr.], of Polk County, 108
Dinnel, Richard, taxpayer, 117
Disney, B. F., 41
Dodson (Dotson), genealogy, noted, 132
Doherty, Herbert J., Jr., *Whigs of Florida, 1845-1854,* noted, 131-32
Dolton, Timothy, taxpayer, 117
Downs, Benjamin, taxpayer, 117
Downs, William, taxpayer, 117
Draper, Lyman C., 112-13
Dreadful Decade, by Don C. Seitz, 28
Dryden, David, taxpayer, 117
Du Bois, W. E. B., on Andrew Johnson, 16
Duncan, John, 113, 113n
Dunlap, Ephraim, 113
Dunn, Thomas, taxpayer, 117
Dunning, William A., on Andrew Johnson, 11, 16, 21; stimulates interest in study of reconstruction, 29
Dunsmore, Samuel, taxpayer, 117
Dupare, Guillermo, 66
Dyer, David, taxpayer, 117

Eakin, James G., 90
"Early East Tennessee Taxpayers, VII. Sullivan County, 1796," comp. by Pollyanna Creekmore, 112-21
"Earnestness," in "A Good Templars 'Journal'," 88-89
East Tennessee, story of, noted, 128
East Tennessee and Georgia Railroad, 101, 111n
East Tennessee University, 1840-1879, by Stanley J. Folmsbee, noted, 129
Easley, Peter, taxpayer, 117
Easley, Robert, taxpayer, 117
Easley, Stephen, taxpayer, 117
Easterlin, Thomas, taxpayer, 117
Eaton's Station, 113
Edgee (?), Daniel, taxpayer, 117
Edgman, Samuel, taxpayer, 117
Edgman, William, taxpayer, 117
Edmonds, George F., on Andrew Johnson, 17
Edwards, Abel, taxpayer, 117
Edwards, John, taxpayer, 117
Eggleston, George Cary, on Andrew Johnson, 9
Egrim, John, taxpayer, 117
Elder, A. S., 87n
Eldridge, William, taxpayer, 117
Elliott, W. P., 41
Ellis, Edward S., on Andrew Johnson, 10
Ellor, Jacob, taxpayer, 117
Elmore, William, taxpayer, 117
Elya (?), John, taxpayer, 117
Emberson, John, taxpayer, 117
Emberson, Walter, taxpayer, 117
Emmert, George, taxpayer, 117
Emmert, Jacob, taxpayer, 117
England, John, taxpayer, 117
Erwin, David, taxpayer, 117
Essays on the Civil War and Reconstruction and Related Topics, by William A. Dunning, 11
Etsley, Joseph, taxpayer, 117
Evans, Serena, 90
Evans, William, taxpayer, 117
Evens, see Evans

Fagan, John, taxpayer, 117
Feltnor, John, taxpayer, 117
Fertig, James Walter, on Andrew Johnson, 11
Ficklen, John Rose, on Andrew Johnson, 27
Field, Stephen, taxpayer, 117
Fink, George, taxpayer, 117
"Fire Protection in Old Knoxville," by John B. Clark, Jr., 32-42
First Creek, 34, 35, 36
Flechheart, Mrs. E., 33
Fleenor, Jacob, taxpayer, 117
Fleming, Walter Lynwood, on Andrew Johnson, 26-27
Flin, George, taxpayer, 117
Fog Creek, 106
Folmsbee, Stanley J., *East Tennessee University, 1840-1879,* noted, 129
Fooy, Benjamin, 64n, 71n, 73, 75, 81; letter to Gayoso, 64; letter from Gayoso, 76-77
Ford, Alexander, taxpayer, 117
Ford, Dye, taxpayer, 117
Ford, John, taxpayer, 117
Forneret, 69
Foster, Benjamin, 117
Fountain Fire Co. No. 1, 39-40, 41
Four Mile Law (1877), 85
Foust, John, taxpayer, 117
Foust, Peter, taxpayer, 117
Foust, Philip, taxpayer, 117
Frame, William, taxpayer, 117
Franchimastabe, 81

Frazier, James, taxpayer, 117
Frierson, William L., on Andrew Johnson, 28
Frog Mountain, 105-07, 110
Frost, John, taxpayer, 117
Fulkerson, John, taxpayer, 117
Funk, Mrs. Antionette, 45, 48-49, 52, 53
Funk, John, taxpayer, 117
Funkhouser, John, taxpayer, 117

Gaines, Francis H., taxpayer, 117
Gaines, James, esqr., taxpayer, 117
Gaines, James T., taxpayer, 117
Gaines, see also Ganes
Galitzer, Madame, school of, 95
Gallimore, Abram, taxpayer, 117
Gamble, Moses, taxpayer, 117
Gamble, Samuel, taxpayer, 117
Gammon, Richard, taxpayer, 113, 117
Ganes, Ambrose, taxpayer, 117
Gayoso, Manuel, 64n, 67, 71n; letter to Turnbull, 72-75; letter to Tascaotupa, 75; letter to Piomingo, 76; letter to Ogoulayacabe, 76; letter to Fooy, 76-77; letter to Perry, 77; letter to Bloody Fellow, 77-78; letter to Carondelet, 81-82; letter from Fooy, 64; letter from Perry, 64-65; letter from Carondelet, 65-66; letter from Ogoulayacabe, 65-68; letter from Villebeuvre, 69
Gee, Christine South, *Roots and Some of the Branches of the Puckett Family Tree,* noted, 132
George, James, taxpayer, 117
Gianelly family (Framer, Chevira, and Louise), 104, 104n, 105, 109
Giddins, Clark, taxpayer, 117
Giffeler, Adam, taxpayer, 117
Gifford, Jabez, taxpayer, 117
Ginnings, John, taxpayer, 117
Gipson, Lawrence H., on Andrew Johnson, 25
Glass, Carter, 49, 51, 52, 53, 57
Glover, Wm., 78n; letter to Villebeuvre, 78
Goad, Gabriel, taxpayer, 117
Goad, John, taxpayer, 117
Goad, Margaret, taxpayer, 117
Goad, Peter, taxpayer, 117
Goad, William, taxpayer, 117
Goddard, Thomas, taxpayer, 117
Goddard, William, taxpayer, 117
Goddard, William, Sr., taxpayer, 117
Godoy, Manuel de, Duke of Alcudia, 66n, 69
Good Templars, 83-85
"Good Templars 'Journal'," ed. by Grace Leab and Charles Z. Roettger, 83-94
Goodner, Conrad, taxpayer, 117
Goodson, John, taxpayer, 117
Graf, LeRoy P., and McClary, Ben H., eds., "'Vineland' in Tennessee, 1852: The Journal of Rosine Parmentier," 95-111
Graham, John, taxpayer, 117
Grantham, Dewey W., Jr., *Hoke Smith and the Politics of the New South,* noted, 131
Grayson, Cary T., 46
Greeley, Horace, on Andrew Johnson, 4
Greenly farm, Sylco Mountain area, 102, 102n, 110
Greer, Andrew, Jr., taxpayer, 117
Gregg, James, taxpayer, 117
Gregg, Nathan, taxpayer, 117
Griffin, Harriet, 87
Griffin, Sarah, 87n, 90
Griswoldsville, Ga., 101, 101n
Gross, George, taxpayer, 117
Gross, John, taxpayer, 117
Grubb, Jacob, taxpayer, 117
Grubb, John (Jacob's son), taxpayer, 117
Grubb, John, taxpayer, 117
Guerin, N. E., 96-97, 102, 102n, 104-10
Guffey, Joseph Q., 54
Guide to the Study and Reading of Tennessee History, by William T. Alderson and Robert H. White, noted, 130

Hacker, John, taxpayer, 118
Hacker, Julius, taxpayer, 118
Hacker, Julius, Sr., taxpayer, 118
Hagan, Arthur, taxpayer, 118
Haight, Mr., of Polk County, 104
Hail, Alexr, taxpayer, 118
Hall, Clifton R., on Andrew Johnson, 25
Hallon (?), William, taxpayer, 118
Hamilton, Abram, taxpayer, 117
Hamilton, Benjn, taxpayer, 118
Hamilton, J. G. de Roulhac, on Andrew Johnson, 28
Hamilton, John, taxpayer, 118
Hamilton, Joshua, taxpayer, 118
Hamilton, P. J., on Andrew Johnson, 27
Hamilton, Richd, taxpayer, 118
Hamilton, Thomas, taxpayer, 118
Hampton, Samuel, taxpayer, 118
Hannah, Andrew, taxpayer, 118
Harbert (?), taxpayer, 118
Harkness, David James, *Abraham Lincoln and the Cumberland Gap,* noted, 130
Harris, J. T., 41
Harris, William J., 44
Harrison, Pat, 56
Harriss, James, taxpayer, 118
Harriss, Jeremiah, taxpayer, 118
Hart, Leonard, taxpayer, 118
Hartleroad, Henry, taxpayer, 118
Hartleroad, Martin, taxpayer, 118
Harwell, Richard Barksdale, ed., *Kate: The Journal of a Confederate Nurse,* by Kate Cumming, noted, 131
Hatcher, William, taxpayer, 118
Havana, 69
Havron, James, taxpayer, 118
Hawke, John, taxpayer, 118
Hawkins, Henry, taxpayer, 118
Hawkins, John, taxpayer, 118
Hawkins, Nathan, taxpayer, 118
Hawkins, Nicholas, taxpayer, 118

Hawkins County, Tenn., created, 112-13
Hayes, Rutherford B., on Andrew Johnson, 14
Hays, Willard, "Andrew Johnson's Reputation," 1-31
Haywood, John, *Natural and Aboriginal History of Tennessee,* ed. by Mary U. Rothrock, noted, 128
Henderson, John B., on Andrew Johnson, 17
Henry Knox: General Washington's General, by North Callahan, noted, 129
Herbert, Hilary, on Andrew Johnson, 12, 17
Hethaway, Leonard, taxpayer, 118
Hewitt, William, taxpayer, 118
Hicks, Henry, taxpayer, 118
Hicks, Isaac, taxpayer (2), 118
Hicks, Isaac, taxpayer, 118
Hicks, Jacob, taxpayer, 118
Hicks, Richard, taxpayer, 118
Hicks, Shedrach, taxpayer, 118
Hicks, Stephen, taxpayer, 118
Hill, Frederick Trevor, on Andrew Johnson, 19
Hilton, Arnold, taxpayer, 118
Hilton, Charles, taxpayer, 118
Hilton, John, taxpayer, 118
History of the Presidency, by Edward Stanwood, 10
History of the Reconstruction Period, by James Schouler, 23
History of the Rise and Fall of the Slave Power in America, by Henry Wilson, 5-6
History of the United States, by James Ford Rhodes, 19-20
History of the United States Since the Civil War, by Ellis Paxon Oberholtzer, 24
History of the United States of America Under the Constitution, by James Schouler, 23
Hitchcock, Gilbert, 57
Hitterick, John, taxpayer, 118
Hitterick, William, taxpayer, 118
Hoar, George F., on Andrew Johnson, 14
Hobby, Gov. W. P., 44
Hodge, Francis, taxpayer, 118
Hodges, William, taxpayer, 118
Hog Back Mountain, 108
Hoke Smith and the Politics of the New South, by Dewey W. Grantham, Jr., noted, 131
Hollis, James, 113
Holloway, Laura, on Andrew Johnson, 9
Holt, Simon, taxpayer, 118
Hoover, Herbert, 47
House, W. M., 41
Houseley, Robert, taxpayer, 118
Houser, John, taxpayer, 118
Holloway, John, taxpayer, 118
Houser, Nicholas, taxpayer, 118
Howell, Clark, on Andrew Johnson, 17
Huffaker, Jesse, 90n
Huffaker, Wiley H. O., 90n
Huffaker brothers, 90
Huffman, Peter, taxpayer, 118
Hughes, Abner, taxpayer, 118
Hughes, David, taxpayer, 118
Hughes, Thomas, taxpayer, 118
Hughes, William, taxpayer, 118
Huls, William, taxpayer, 118
Hunt, Gaillard, on Andrew Johnson, 17
Hunt, John, taxpayer, 118
Hunter, Stephen Ben and Hunter, Mary Amanda Medley, *Joseph Hunter and Related Families,* ed. by Felix Eugene Snider, noted, 132
Hymns, George, taxpayer, 118

Impeachment and Trial of Andrew Johnson by David Miller DeWitt, 19
Indian Valley, 109
Ingersoll, Robert G., on Andrew Johnson, 1
Inman, Darthula, 111n
Inman House, Cleveland, Tennessee, 110, 110n, 111n
Inman, Mrs. James W., 110-11, 110n
Isbel, Hickman, taxpayer, 118
Iseley, Conrod, taxpayer (2), 118
Iseley, Jacob, taxpayer, 118

Jackson, John, 41
Jackson, Joshua, taxpayer, 118
Jackson, Peter, taxpayer, 118
Jacquet, Rev. M., 109
James, Bennet, taxpayer, 118
James, Walter, taxpayer, 118
Jenkins, Burris, 49, 52, 54
Jennings, see Ginnings
Joab, Jacob, taxpayer, 118
Joab, Nathan, taxpayer, 118
Joab, Samuel, taxpayer, 118
Joffill, Dudley, taxpayer, 118
Johnson, Andrew, reputation, 1-31; denounced, 1866-1868, 3; criticism of and beginnings of understanding, 1869-1899, 4-13; Southern opinion, 1870-1900, 11-12; policy commended, leadership deplored, 1900-1926, 14-31; papers in Library of Congress, 20-21, 29-30
Johnson, Robert, 2
Johnston, Philip, taxpayer, 118
Johnston, Thomas, taxpayer, 118
Johnston, Walter, esqr., taxpayer, 118
Jolliff, William, taxpayer, 118
Jones, Alderman, 41
Jones, Henry, taxpayer, 118
Jones, James S., on Andrew Johnson, 17-18
Jones, John, taxpayer, 118
Jones, Solomon, taxpayer, 118
Jones, Thomas, taxpayer, 118
Jonkier's Valley, 105
Joseph Hunter and Related Families, by Stephen Ben Hunter and Mary Amanda Medley Hunter, ed. by Felix Eugene Snider, noted, 132

Journal of the Joint Committee of Fifteen on Reconstruction, by Benjamin Burks Kendrick, 24
Jourolmon, J. H., 41
Juvenile Templars, 84

Kaler, Frederick, taxpayer, 118
Kappa Sigma "McAdoo for President" Club, University of Tennessee, 44
Kate: The Journal of a Confederate Nurse, by Kate Cumming, ed. by Richard Barksdale Harwell, noted, 131
Kearns, Nicholas, 32
Kendrick, Benjamin Burks, on Andrew Johnson, 24
Kendrick, John B., 44
Key, Joas, taxpayer, 118
Keywood, John, taxpayer, 118
"Kick him when he's down," in "A Good Templars 'Journal'," 93
Kinchloe, John, taxpayer, 118
King, James, taxpayer, 118
King, James, esq., taxpayer, 118
King, John, taxpayer, 118
King Thomas, taxpayer, 118
King, Walter, taxpayer, 118
King, William, taxpayer, 113, 118
Kitchin, Claude, 49
Kite, Philip, taxpayer, 118
Knight, John, taxpayer, 118
Kniseley, John, taxpayer, 118
Knox, Henry, biography, noted, 129
Knoxville, Tenn., fire prevention in, 32-42; fire regulations, 32-34
Knoxville Fire Company, 36, 38; company no. 1, 39, 40, 41; company no. 2, 40, 41
Knoxville Fire Police, 40
Knoxville Register, 37

Lackey, W. W., 41
Lamb, J. S., 87n
Landrum, J. B. O., *Colonial and Revolutionary History of Upper South Carolina,* noted, 128-29
Lane, James, taxpayer, 119
Large, Robert, taxpayer, 118
Latta, Alexander B., 39-40
Lawrence, David, 53
Leab, Grace, and Roettger, Charles Z., eds., *"A Good Templars 'Journal'."* 83-94
Lewis, David, taxpayer, 119
Lewis, George, taxpayer, 119
Lewis, Nathan, taxpayer, 119
Lewis, William, taxpayer, 119
Life of Andrew Johnson, by James S. Jones, 17-18
Linder, Mr., of Polk County, 105, 105n
"List of Members," 138-44
List of Tennessee State Publications. No. 5, noted, 130
Lite, Henry, taxpayer, 119
Lite, Vitchel, taxpayer, 118
Lite, William, taxpayer, 118
Little, George, taxpayer, 118
Little, Matthias, taxpayer, 118
Lloyd, Ralph W., "Verton Madison Queener: An Appreciation," 59-62
Local Option League, 84
Local option movement in Tennessee, 84-85
Lochaber, Treaty, of, 112
Lodge, Henry Cabot, on Andrew Johnson, 8
Long Island, 116
Looney, David, 113
Looney, Moses, 113
Louisiana, The Pelican State, by Edwin Adams Davis, noted, 131
Love, Thomas B., 44, 52, 53
Low, George, taxpayer, 118
Lowry, John, taxpayer, 119
Lucas, S. Emmett, Jr., *Genealogy of the Dodson (Dotson), Lucas, Pyles, Rochester and Allied Families,* noted, 132
"Luttrell, J. C.," 42
Lynch, Fred B., 54

McAdoo, Francis H., 45n
McAdoo, William Gibbs, early life, in Knoxville, 43; boom for Democratic presidential nomination, 1920, 44-49; denial of candidacy, 50; continued support, 50-54; defeat in convention, 51-56; analysis of his role, 56-57
McAntire, David, taxpayer, 119
McBride, William, taxpayer, 119
McCampbell Springs, 34
McCarty, Benjamin F., 87
McClain, Thomas, taxpayer, 119
McClary, Ben H., and Graf, LeRoy P., eds., "'Vineland' in Tennessee, 1852: The Journal of Rosine Parmentier," 95-111
McClellan, Abram, taxpayer, 119
McClarn, James, taxpayer, 119
McClellan, John, taxpayer, 119
McClung (C.) & Son, 38
McClung Collection, Lawson McGhee Library, 114
McClure, Alexander K., on Andrew Johnson, 14-15
McCorkle, Samuel, taxpayer, 119
McCormick, Vance, 47
McCormick, William, taxpayer, 119
McCown, Mary Hardin, and Burns, Inez E., *Soldiers of the War of 1812 Buried in Tennessee,* noted, 130
McCulloch, Hugh, on Andrew Johnson, 6, 7
McDonald, John, 70n, 80; letter to O'Neill, 70; letter to Carondelet, 70-71
McElderry, John, taxpayer, 119
McGillivray, Alexander, 63, 63n, 64n, 66
McGuire, John, 41
McGuire, Thomas, taxpayer, 119
McIntosh, Peter, taxpayer, 119
McKaughan, Archd., taxpayer, 119
Mackay, John, taxpayer, 119
McKellar, Kenneth, 56
McKeymey, Robert, taxpayer, 119
McKinley, Saml., taxpayer, 119
McKinley, William, taxpayer, 119
McKinley, Willm., Sr., taxpayer, 119
McKissack, Abraham, 109, 109n

McNaley, John, taxpayer, 119
McNeil, James, 113
McNeily, J. S., on Andrew Johnson, 27
Malone, Michal, taxpayer, 119
Marietta, Ga., 101
Marsh, Wilbur F., 54
Martin, James, 113
Martin, Joseph, 113
Martin, V. H., 41
Maryville College, work of Verton Madison Queener at, 59-62
Massingall, Henry, taxpayer, 119
Mastechico, 69
Matlock, Jason, taxpayer, 119
Matlock, Luke, taxpayer, 119
Maxwell, George, 113
Maxwell, John, taxpayer, 119
Meade, Mahlon, taxpayer, 119
Memoirs of Cornelius Cole, on Andrew Johnson, 14
Men and Measures of Half a Century, by Hugh McCulloch, 6, 7
Mercer, Edward, taxpayer, 119
Mercer, Nicholas, taxpayer, 119
Meredith, Edwin T., 44
Merriam, George, on Andrew Johnson, 8
Messages of the Governors of Tennessee, Vol. V., *1857-1869*, by Robert H. White, noted, 128
Miolane family (Francis, Catherine, Crepin, Lewis), 104, 104n, 105
Middleton, Thomas J., on Andrew Johnson, 27
Milford (or Milfort), Louis le Clerc, 88n; letter to Carondelet, 79-80
Milhorn (?), George, taxpayer, 119
Mill, Jonathan, 41
Miller, Adam, taxpayer, 119
Miller, Christian, taxpayer, 119
Miller, George, taxpayer (2), 119
Miller, Henry, taxpayer, 119
Miller, Isaac, taxpayer, 119
Miller, Jacob, taxpayer, 119
Miller, John, 41
Miller, John, taxpayer, 119
Miller, Samuel, taxpayer, 119
Miller, Thomas, taxpayer, 119
Mitar, Jacob W., taxpayer, 119
Mitchell, Alderman, 41
Molton, William, taxpayer, 119
Moore, Alexander, taxpayer, 119
Moore, Edward H., 56
Moore, Garrett, taxpayer, 119
Moore, Mrs. John Trotwood, 114
Moore, John W., on Andrew Johnson, 12
Moore, Samuel, taxpayer (2), 119
Morelock, George, taxpayer, 119
Morelock, James, taxpayer, 119
Morgan, Abel, taxpayer, 119
Morgan, Calvin, 37
Morgan, William, taxpayer, 119
Morget (?), Henry, taxpayer, 119
Morrell, Daniel, taxpayer, 119
Morrell, Edmund, taxpayer, 119
Morrell, John, taxpayer, 119
Morrell, Jonathan, taxpayer, 119
Morrell, Thomas, taxpayer, 119
Morrison, James, taxpayer, 119
Morrison, Thomas, taxpayer, 119
Morriss, James, taxpayer, 119
Morton, John, 89
Moseley, John, taxpayer, 119
Motton or Molton (?), Nicholas, taxpayer, 119
Moyer, Daniel, taxpayer, 119
Moyer, Gasper, taxpayer, 119
Moyer, Jacob, taxpayer (2), 119
Moyer, John, taxpayer, 119
Murcheson house, 90
Murphy, Charles F., 50, 54
Murrell, Richard, taxpayer, 119
Muscle Shoals, 67, 69, 69n
Musgrove, John, taxpayer, 119
Musgrove, John, Jr., taxpayer, 119
My Memoirs of Eighty Years, by Chauncey Depew, 14
Myars, Jacob, taxpayer, 119

Nash, William, esq., taxpayer, 119
Nashville *Republican Banner*, 83
Natchez, 63-64, 66-68, 71-78, 81-82
Nation, comments on Andrew Johnson (1875), 5
Natural and Aboriginal History of Tennessee, by John Haywood, ed. by Mary U. Rothrock, noted, 128
"Ned," Negro of Cleveland, Tennessee, 110-11, 110n, 111n
Nettels, Curtis, on Andrew Johnson, 28
New Madrid, 66
New Orleans, 63, 65-68, 70, 71n, 72, 74, 75, 78, 79, 81
Niagara Fire Co., No. 2, 41, 42
Niceley, see Kniseley
Nidiver, George, taxpayer, 119
Nidiver, Jacob, taxpayer, 119
Norkett, John, taxpayer, 119
North Carolina, 172
Norton, Evelyn, 59
Notable Men of Tennessee, by Oliver P. Temple, 26
"Notes and News, 1958," 133-36

Oberholtzer, Ellis Paxon, on Andrew Johnson, 24
Ocoee River, 102n, 103
Oconee Swamps railroad bridge, 101
O'Connor, Thos., 41
Odle, William, taxpayer, 119
Offill, James, taxpayer, 119
Ogoulayacabe, chief of Chickasaw Indians, 63, 64, 73, 75, 76, 77, 81; letter to Gayoso, 68-69; letter to Villebeuvre, 71-72; letter from Gayoso, 76
"Old Dutch Settlement," 98
Olivier, Pedro, 63n, 67, 80
O'Neill, Arthur, 70, 70n; letter from McDonald, 70
Otis, Harrison Gray, on Andrew Johnson, 17

Owen, Jonathan, taxpayer, 119
Ozborne, Jnac., taxpayer, 119

Page, Thomas Nelson, on Andrew Johnson, 16
Palmer, Attorney General A. Mitchell, 46, 47, 52-57
Panton, William, 66n, 67, 67n, 68, 70, 70n, 71, 80n; letter to Carondelet, 80
"Papers from the Spanish Archives Relating to Tennessee and the Old Southwest," XXII, tr. and ed. by D. C. and Roberta Corbitt, 63-82
Parker, Hannah, taxpayer, 120
Parker, J. H., 41
Parker, William, taxpayer, 120
Parmentier, Andre, 95, 95n
Parmentier, Rosine, journal of, edited, 95-111; childhood and education, 95; visits Vineland, 96; journal of visit, 99-111; charitable endeavors after 1852, 97-98
Parmentier, Adele, see Bayer, Adele
Parmentier, Sylvia, 95
Patrick, Robert, diary of, noted, 131
Patterson, Sarah, taxpayer, 119
Pawlett, Abram, taxpayer, 119
Pawlett, Ann, taxpayer, 119
Pawlett, Robert, taxpayer, 119
Peirce, Absalom, taxpayer, 120
Pemberton, John William, taxpayer, 119
Pensacola, 66n, 67, 70n, 80
Peoples, Nathan, taxpayer, 119
Perkins, Edward, taxpayer, 120
Perry, Benjamin F., on Andrew Johnson, 12
Perry, David, esqr., taxpayer, 120
Perry, Hardy, 64n, 73, 75, 81; letter to Gayoso, 64-65; letter from Gayoso, 77
Perry, Rowland, taxpayer, 120
Peters, Conrod, taxpayer, 120
Peters, John, taxpayer, 120
Petre, George, taxpayer, 120
Phillips, Charles, taxpayer, 120
Pickins, James, taxpayer, 120
Pilant, Edward R., 87
Pilant, Thomas, 90n
Pilcher, John, taxpayer, 119
Piomingo, chief of Chickasaw Indians, 63, 64n, 66-68, 71n, 73, 75, 77, 81; letter from Gayoso, 76
Pioneer Hook and Ladder Co., 41-42
Piper, A. M., 41
Poe, Clarence, 44
Pollard, Sarah, 90
Poore, Ben: Perley, on Andrew Johnson, 8
Pope, Mary, taxpayer, 119
Popular History of the United States of America, by John Clark Ridpath, 9
Porterfield, Seth, taxpayer, 119
Potter, Jacob Harris, on Andrew Johnson, 9
Powel County, Tenn., proposed, 112
Presbyterian revival at Cleveland, Tenn., 110
Price, Prentiss, 113n
Price, Thomas, taxpayer, 120
Prigmore, Drury, taxpayer, 119
Profit, David, taxpayer, 119
Prohibition, see temperance
Prohibition party, 84
Prothro, David, taxpayer, 120
Prothro, John, taxpayer, 120
Puckett family, genealogy, noted, 132
Punch, John, taxpayer, 119
Pyles family, genealogy, noted, 132

Queener, Evelyn (Norton), 59
Queener, George, 59
Queener, Jacob, 59
Queener, Verton Madison, biographical sketch, 59-62, publications, 60n

Ramsey, J. G. M., 113, 113n
Recollections of Half a Century, by Alexander K. McClure, 14-15
Recollections of Thirteen Presidents, by John S. Wise, 14-15
Reconstruction, historiography of, see Hays, Willard; William A. Dunning stimulates study of, 29
Reconstruction and the Constitution, by John W. Burgess, 18-19
Reconstruction, Political and Economic, by William A. Dunning, 21
Reluctant Rebel: The Secret Diary of Robert Patrick, 1861-1865, ed. by F. Jay Taylor, noted, 131
Reminiscences of Carl Schurz, on Andrew Johnson, 14
Republican Banner (Nashville), 83
Revival at Cleveland, Tenn., in 1852, 110
Reyley, John, taxpayer, 120
Reyley, Joseph, taxpayer, 120
Rhea, John, taxpayer, 113, 120
Rhea, Matthew, taxpayer, 114, 120
Rhea, William, taxpayer, 120
Rhodes, James Ford, on Andrew Johnson, 19-20; compared with Dunning, 21; compared with Schouler, 22-24
Richards, Joshua, taxpayer, 120
Richards, Mordecai, 64, 64n, 77
Richeson, John, taxpayer, 120
Ridpath, John Clark, on Andrew Johnson, 9
Roberts, William, taxpayer, 120
Robinson, Catharine, taxpayer, 120
Robinson, Moses, taxpayer, 120
Rochester family, genealogy, noted, 132
Roettger, Charles Z., and Leab, Grace, eds., "A Good Templars 'Journal'," 83-94
Rogers, Abraham, taxpayer, 120
Rogers, Nicholas, taxpayer, 120
Roller, Jacob, taxpayer, 120
Roller, John, taxpayer, 120
Roller, Martin, taxpayer, 120
Roosevelt, Franklin D., 44
Roper, Daniel C., 49, 51-53, 55, 57
Rosicrans, Richd, 32
Rossiter, Clinton, on Andrew Johnson, 1

Rothrock, Mary U., ed., *Natural and Aboriginal History of Tennessee,* by John Haywood, noted, 128
Rousseau, Pedro, 66
Rowler, Martin, Jr., taxpayer, 120
Ruby, Henry, taxpayer, 120
Rule, William, 37
Russell residence, 90
Rutherford's Drug Store, 87, 89
Rutledge, George, taxpayer, 120
Rutledge, Robert, taxpayer, 120
Rystone, Benjamin, taxpayer, 120

St. Marys, 79, 80
Sampson, Emanuel, taxpayer, 120
Sanford, E. J., 41
Sands, Michal, taxpayer, 120
Saunders, John, 32
Saunders, John, taxpayer, 120
Savannah, Ga., Rosine Parmentier describes in 1852, 100
Savannah River, 99-100
Schell, Andrew, taxpayer, 120
Schell, Arnold, taxpayer, 120
Schell, Frederick, taxpayer, 120
Schell, Joseph, taxpayer, 120
Schouler, James, on Andrew Johnson, 22-24
Schultz, Jacob, taxpayer, 120
Schurz, Carl, on Andrew Johnson, 7-8, 14
Scott, John, taxpayer, 113, 120
Seagrove, James, 67, 67n, 80
Seagrove, Robert, 80
Seavers, George, taxpayer, 120
Secession and Reconstruction of Tennessee, by James Walter Fertig, 11
Second Creek, 35
Seibold, Louis, 50
Seitz, Don C., on Andrew Johnson, 28
Sellick, W. H., 41
Sells (?), Solomon, taxpayer, 120
Sequel of Appomattox, by Walter Lynwood Fleming, 26-27
Sharpe, John, taxpayer (2), 120
Shaw, Michal, taxpayer, 120
Shawnee mission, 79n
Shelby, Catharine, taxpayer, 120
Shelby, David, surveyor, 113
Shelby, Evan, 113
Shelby, Isaac, taxpayer, 113, 120
Shelby, John, Jr., taxpayer, 120
Shelby, John, Sr., taxpayer, 120
Shell, see Schell
Shelly, Peter, taxpayer, 120
Sherman, John, on Andrew Johnson, 9-10
Shipley, Eli, taxpayer, 120
Shipley, John, taxpayer, 120
Shipley, Samuel, taxpayer, 120
Shipley, Richard, taxpayer, 120
Shoemaker, John, taxpayer, 120
Shoemaker, Thomas, taxpayer, 120
Shoemaker, William, taxpayer, 120
Shouse, Jouett, 44
Shrite, Henry, taxpayer, 120
Sigler, Henry, taxpayer, 120
Silsby, H. C., & Co., 42
Simmons, F. M., 44
Simpson, Mary, taxpayer, 120
Sioussat, St. George L., on Andrew Johnson, 27
Sircle (?), George, taxpayer, 120
Sisk, James W., 87n
Slaughter, Jacob, taxpayer, 120
Smalling, Solomon, taxpayer, 120
Smalling, Thomas, taxpayer, 120
Smith, Alvin P., 90
Smith, Daniel, taxpayer, 120
Smith, Didonis, 90
Smith, George, taxpayer, 120
Smith, George, Jr., taxpayer, 120
Smith, Hoke, biography of, noted, 131
Smith, James, taxpayer, 120
Smith, James D., 89
Smith, James W., 87, 90, 90n
Smith, Jane, 87n
Smith, John M., 87
Smith, Joseph, taxpayer (2), 120
Smith, L., 90
Smith, Samuel, taxpayer, 120
Smith, Samuel, Sr., taxpayer, 113, 120
Smith, Solomon, taxpayer, 120
Smith, Thomas A., 89, 90
Smith, W. B., 90
Smith, William, taxpayer, 120
Snider, Felix Eugene, ed., *The Joseph Hunter and Related Families,* by Stephen Ben Hunter and Mary Amanda Medley Hunter, noted, 132
Snider, Michal, taxpayer, 120
Snodgrass, William, taxpayer, 120
Sons of Temperance, 83, 84
Soldiers of the War of 1812 Buried in Tennessee, comp. by Mary Hardin McCown and Inez E. Burns, noted, 130
Spurgin, John, taxpayer, 120
Stanwood, Edward, on Andrew Johnson, 10
Stein, Albert, 35
Stephens, Alexander H., on Andrew Johnson, 4, 12
Stephens, Edmund, taxpayer, 120
Stevenson, Nicholas, taxpayer, 120
Stevenson, William, taxpayer, 120
Stipes, Jacob, taxpayer, 120
Stoke, Adam, taxpayer, 120
Stott, William, taxpayer, 120
Strange Career of Jim Crow, by C. Vann Woodward, 30n
Struggle Between President Johnson and Congress over Reconstruction, by Charles E. Chedsey, 10
Stuart, John, taxpayer, 120
Sturm, Frederick, 112
Sugar Loaf Mountain, 110, 110n
Sugar Orchard, 106
Sullivan, Henry, taxpayer, 120
Sullivan, John (1740-1795), 112
Sullivan, Mark, 51
Sullivan County, Tenn., created, 112; named, 112; boundaries, 112; first justices, 112; records, 112; first officials, 113; county seat, 113; courthouse, 113-

14; tax lists, 112-21, county court clerk, 114
Sylco Creek, 102-03, 107
Sylco Mountain, Vineland settlement in, see Vineland; Rosine Parmentier describes, 102
Sylvester, Joseph, taxpayer, 120

Tabury (?), Thomas, taxpayer, 121
Taggart, Thomas, 54, 55
Tally, John, taxpayer, 121
Tascaotupa, king of Chickasaw Indians, 75
Taskihatoka Mingo, 68, 68n; letter to Villebeuvre, 78-79
Taylor, Archibald, taxpayer, 121
Taylor, Daniel, taxpayer, 121
Taylor, F. Jay, ed., *Reluctant Rebel: The Secret Diary of Robert Patrick, 1861-1865,* noted, 131
Taylor, Isaac, taxpayer, 121
Taylor, Jeremiah, Jr., taxpayer, 121
Taylor, John, taxpayer, 121
Taylor, Joseph, taxpayer, 120
Taylor, Joseph B. Smith, taxpayer, 120
Taylor, Richard, Cherokee chief, 78
Taylor, Richard, son of Zachary, on Andrew Johnson, 12
Taylor, Stephen, taxpayer, 121
Temperance, movement in Tennessee, organizations, 83-85; local option movement, 84-85; Four Mile Law (1877), 85; journalism, 85-94
Temperance Alliance, 84
Temple, Oliver P., on Andrew Johnson, 26
Tennessee, guide to history of, noted, 130; aboriginal history of, noted, 128
Tennessee River, 34, 36
Tensaw, 79
Territorial Papers of the United States, Vol. XXIV, *The Territory of Florida, 1828-1834,* noted, 132
Terry, A., 41
Thatcher, Samuel S., 35
Thomas, George, taxpayer, 121
Thomas, Jacob, taxpayer, 121
Thomas, James, taxpayer, 121
Thomas, John, taxpayer, 121
Thompson, Dr. C. B., 110, 110n
Thorn Grove, Tenn., history, 85-86; description, 89-90
Thukhalia, people of, 63
Titlow, John, 41
Titsworth, Thomas, taxpayer (2), 121
Tombigbee, 80
Torbet, Alexander, taxpayer, 121
Torbet, Alexander, Jr., taxpayer, 121
Torbet, John, taxpayer, 121
Treaty of Lochaber, 112
Tredway, Allan, taxpayer, 121
Truman, Benjamin C., on Andrew Johnson, 17
Tuckabatchee, 79-80
Tuckerman, Charles K., on Andrew Johnson, 8
Tumulty, Joseph P., 47
Turnbull, John, 65, 65n, 75-77, 81; letter from Gayoso, 72-75
Tussey, Jacob, taxpayer, 121
Twenty Years of Congress from Lincoln to Garfield, by James G. Blaine, 6-7
Tynor, Lewis, taxpayer, 121

University of Tennessee, history of predecessor of, noted, 129

Vance, John, esqr., taxpayer, 121
Vandeventer, Abram, taxpayer, 121
"Verton Madison Queener, An Appreciation," by Ralph W. Lloyd, 59-62
Vidal, Joseph, 75, 75n
Villebeuvre, Juan de la, 69n, 73, 75, 77, 81; letter to Gayoso, 69; letter from Ogoulayacabe, 71-72; letter from Glover, 78; letter from Villebeuvre, 78-79
Vincent, George, taxpayer, 121
Vincent, Thomas, taxpayer, 121
Vineland, Tenn., history, 96-97, 98; Rosine Parmentier's journal of visit to, 98-99, 98n, 99-111; description of settlement, 104-09
"'Vineland' in Tennessee, 1852: The Journal of Rosine Parmentier," ed. by Ben. H. McClary and LeRoy P. Graf, 95-111
Virginia, 112

Wadley, Thomas, taxpayer, 121
Waggener, Henry, taxpayer, 121
Waggener, John, taxpayer, 121
Waggener, Michal, taxpayer, 121
Wallace, Joseph, esq., taxpayer, 121
Wallace, William, 113
Wallin, Stephen, taxpayer, 121
Walnut Hills, 67; treaty of, 66n
"Walter Manley," in "A Good Templars 'Journal'," 85, 90-93
Warden, David, taxpayer, 121
Ware, James, taxpayer, 121
Warren, Charles, 87n
Warren, Elizabeth, 87, 89
Warren, John, taxpayer, 121
Warren, John O., 88n
Warren, Joseph, 88
Warring, Edmund, taxpayer, 121
Wartmiller, John, taxpayer, 121
Washington County, Tenn., 112
Weaver, Christian, taxpayer, 121
Weaver, Frederick, taxpayer, 121
Weaver, Jacob, taxpayer, 121
Webb, Benjamin, taxpayer, 121
Webb, David, taxpayer, 121
Webb, George, taxpayer, 121
Webb, Jonathan, taxpayer, 121
Webb, Moses, taxpayer, 121
Weeks, John, taxpayer, 121
Weeks, Zachariah, taxpayer, 121

Welles, Gideon, *Diary,* as source for A. Johnson's biographers, 2, 29-30; views on A. Johnson, 15-16
Wells, Edward L., on Andrew Johnson, 27
Western and Atlantic Railway, 101
Wetzell, John, 32
Wheeler, James, taxpayer, 121
Whigs of Florida, 1845-1854, by Herbert J. Doherty, Jr., noted, 131-32
White, Robert H. and Alderson, William T., *A Guide to the Study and Reading of Tennessee History,* noted, 130
White, Robert H., *Messages of the Governors of Tennessee,* Vol. V., *1857-1869,* noted, 128
Whitley, Edythe, *Some of the Descendants of Rev. Richard Denton,* noted, 132
Whittle house, 90
Whitlock, Alexander, taxpayer, 121
Wickmann, Patricia Guion, *Christ Church Episcopal, Rugby, Tennessee: A Short History,* noted, 130
"William Gibbs McAdoo and the 1920 Democratic Presidential Nomination," by Wesley M. Bagby, 43-58
Williams, Balis, taxpayer, 121
Williams, P. M., 41
Williams, Peter, taxpayer, 121
Williams, Thomas, taxpayer, 121
Wilson, Henry, on Andrew Johnson, 4, 5-6
Wilson, William, 40
Wilson, Woodrow, 43, 45, 46, 47, 50, 51, 54, 55, 57-58; on Andrew Johnson, 16
Wise, John S., on Andrew Johnson, 14-15
Wiseman, Samuel, taxpayer, 121
Wolf, Charles, taxpayer, 121
Wolfe, George, taxpayer, 121
Woolley, Robert W., 44, 48-49, 52
Woodward, C. Vann, on race issue, 30n
Wright, David, taxpayer, 121
"Writings on Tennessee History, 1958," by Pollyanna Creekmore, 122-27
Wyley, William, taxpayer, 121

Yancey, esqr., taxpayer, 121
Yazoo River, 64, 66, 67, 69, 74, 78, 81
Yockeney Petaffa, 64, 69
Yokeley, John, taxpayer, 121
Young, James, taxpayer, 121

Continued from Inside Front Cover

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